

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



SEPTEMBER, 1956



EDITORIALS

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION IN 17th CENTURY
MARYLAND *By George B. Scribner*

JOHN WURTS CLOUD, PRIEST AND PLANTER
By Andrew Forest Muir

BISHOP SATTERLEE'S MISSION TO RUSSIA, 1896
By C. Rankin Barnes

AGREEMENT ON FUNDAMENTALS: THE HUNT-
INGTON-MANNING CORRESPONDENCE ON
THE CRAPSEY CASE
By W. Dudley F. Hughes

THE STAINED-GLASS WINDOWS OF THE WASH-
INGTON CATHEDRAL *By Frank L. Baer*

REVIEWS: I. American Church History and Bio-
graphy.
II. English and General Church History.
III. Theology and Philosophy.

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of the Protestant Episcopal Church



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Vol. XXV. SEPTEMBER, 1956

No. 3



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
EDITORIALS.....	212
<p>New Home of the Church Historical Society . . . Name One of the Three! . . . Current Books on Church History . . . "It Is the Part of Wisdom to Respect History" . . . The Usefulness of "Historical Magazine"—Past and Present . . . Miss Hillman's Record of Distinguished Service . . . Mrs. Voorhees' Scrapbooks of the General Convention.</p>	
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION IN 17th CENTURY MARY- LAND.....	220
	<i>By George B. Scriven</i>
JOHN WURTS CLOUD, PRIEST AND PLANTER.....	230
	<i>By Andrew Forest Muir</i>
BISHOP SATTERLEE'S MISSION TO RUSSIA, 1896.....	255
	<i>By C. Rankin Barnes</i>
AGREEMENT ON FUNDAMENTALS: THE HUNT- INGTON-MANNING CORRESPONDENCE ON THE CRAPSEY CASE.....	263
	<i>By W. Dudley F. Hughes</i>
THE STAINED-GLASS WINDOWS OF THE WASHING- TON CATHEDRAL.....	277
	<i>By Frank L. Baer</i>

BOOK REVIEWS

(Pages 286-308)

I.

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Modern Canterbury Pilgrims (edited by James A. Pike)

GEORGE E. DEMILLE

The Present State of Virginia [1725] (by Hugh Jones)
NELSON W. RIGHTMYER

More Lay Readers Than Clergy: A Study of the Office of Lay Reader in the History of the Church (by Walter W. Stowe)

R. D. MIDDLETON

The Episcopal Church Annual, 1956 (edited by Clifford P. Morehouse)
WALTER H. STOWE

AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES... Edited by DUBOSE MURPHY

Canadian Historical Review (December, 1955) . . . *Pacific Historical Review* (November, 1955) . . . *California Historical Society Quarterly* (December, 1955) . . . *Georgia Review* (Spring, 1956) . . . *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (March, 1956) . . . *New York History* (January, 1956).

II.

ENGLISH AND GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Churchman's Heritage: A Study in the Ethos of the English Church
(by E. G. Knapp-Fisher)..... E. H. ECKEL

English Thought (1860-1890), The Theological Aspect (by L. E. Elliott-Binns)..... GEORGE E. DEMILLE

This Church of Christ: An Examination of Certain Presuppositions in "The Historic Episcopate" (by A. L. Peck)..... E. H. ECKEL

Dean Colet and His Theology (by Ernest William Hunt)
W. NORMAN PITTENGER

Juliana of Norwich: An Introductory Appreciation and an Interpretative Anthology (by P. Franklin Chambers)..... E. R. HARDY

Early Christian Interpretations of History (by R. L. P. Milburn)
E. H. ECKEL

The Story of the Church (by Walter Russell Bowie)
RICHARD G. SALOMON

The Armenian Community: The Historical Development of a Social and Ideological Conflict (by Sarkis Atamian)..... PETER CHARANIS

III.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY

The Four Great Heresies (by J. W. C. Wand, Bishop of London)
E. H. ECKEL

The Virgin Mary (by Giovanni Miegge) W. NORMAN PITTENGER

The Priesthood, A Translation of the Peri Hierosynes of St. John Chrysostom (by W. A. Jurgens)

St. Maximus the Confessor, The Ascetic Life, The Four Centuries on Charity (trans. by Polycarp Sherwood)

Rufinus, A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed (trans. by J. N. D. Kelly)
E. R. HARDY

How to Read the Bible (by Frederick C. Grant) CORWIN C. ROACH

Recent "Forward Movement Publications" (by various authors)
DUBOSE MURPHY

Red Letter Days: A Series of Meditations on the Holy Days of the Christian Year (by Harry N. Hancock) DUBOSE MURPHY

Christianity: A Critique of Religious Doctrine (by Floyd Lawrence Warne) DUBOSE MURPHY

Editorials

New Home of the Church Historical Society

FACING this page, we show four views of the new home of the Church Historical Society, still in course of construction at this writing. It is the new Library building of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, 606 Rathervue Place, Austin, Texas, and is expected to be completed by the time this issue of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE reaches our readers. The Dean of the Seminary, the Very Reverend Gray M. Blandy, D.D., in his letter of July 2, 1956, accompanying the pictures from which our illustrations have been made, stated:

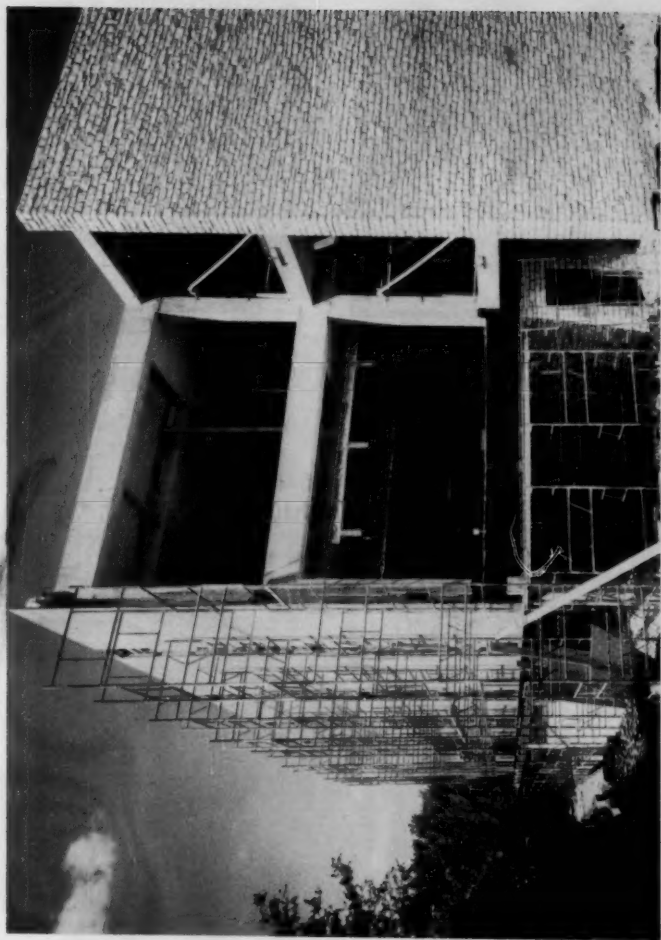
"All the granite facing will be in place the end of this week [i. e. by July 7th], and they have started already on the interior framing of the walls on the main floor partitions."

This new building will have the latest features in fireproofing and air conditioning. The Church Historical Society is to have approximately one-half of the top floor of this new building, which will give it twice the space it has hitherto had. As this editorial is being written, the Society's library is in process of being moved—and what a job that is! For some three months—July, August, and September—the Church will be unable to receive much, if any, service from the Society. But this is a small price to pay for the end results: adequate and fire-proof quarters for the archives of the General Convention, of the National Council, and for the Society's own invaluable collections.

We repeat for the benefit of the uninformed that (1) HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is *not* affected by this removal of the Church Historical Society; (2) the Society has no control over the Magazine, and *vice versa*; (3) HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will continue to be published at #5 Pater-son Street, New Brunswick, New Jersey; (4) the interests of Society and Magazine are complementary, and each is concerned to help the other; (5) the address of the Church Historical Society is now:

606 Rathervue Place,
Austin, Texas.

WALTER H. STOWE.

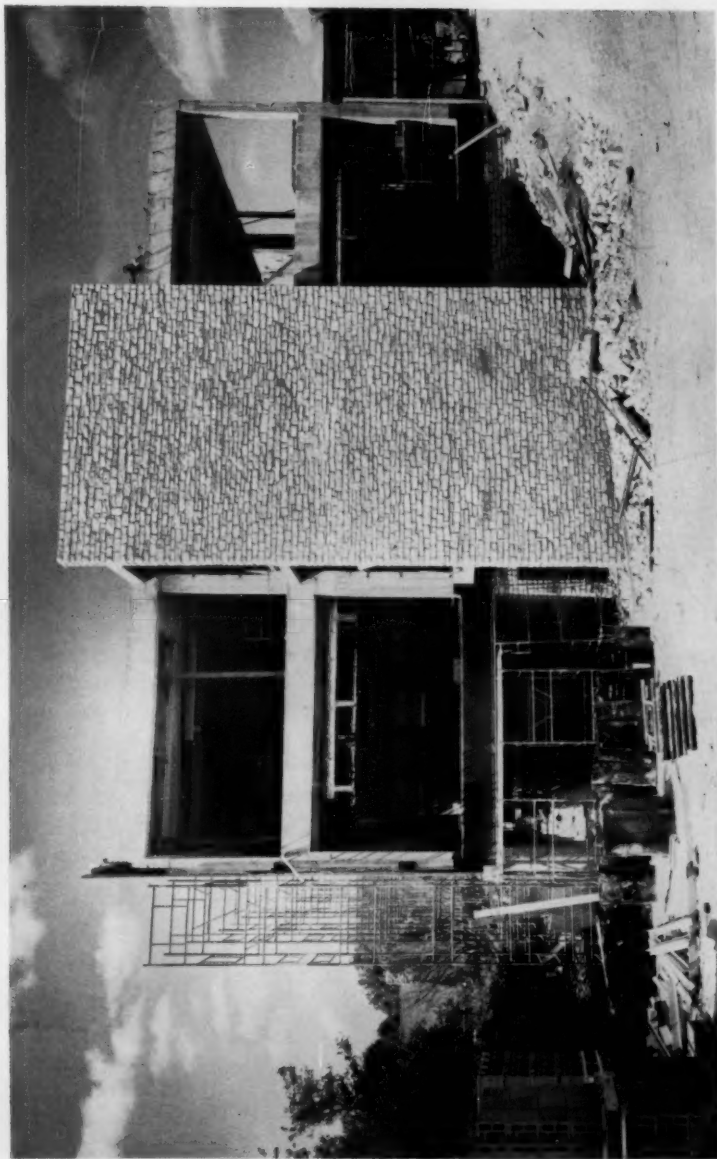


NEW HOME OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The New Fireproof and Air-Conditioned Library Building of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas

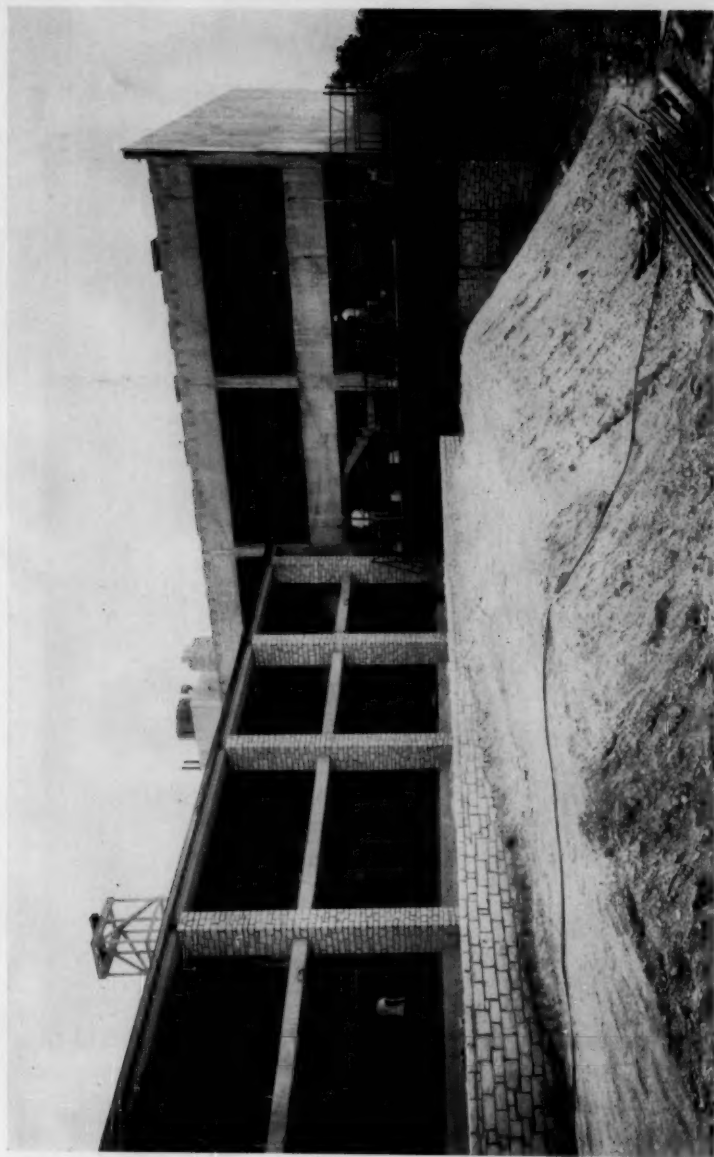
This picture shows the north end of the building, in part, and the scaffolding along the east side. It reveals better than the other pictures the large size of this building and also the fact that there are a good many trees on the Seminary property

The Library of the Church Historical Society will be on the third or topmost floor of this building, and will be served by an elevator

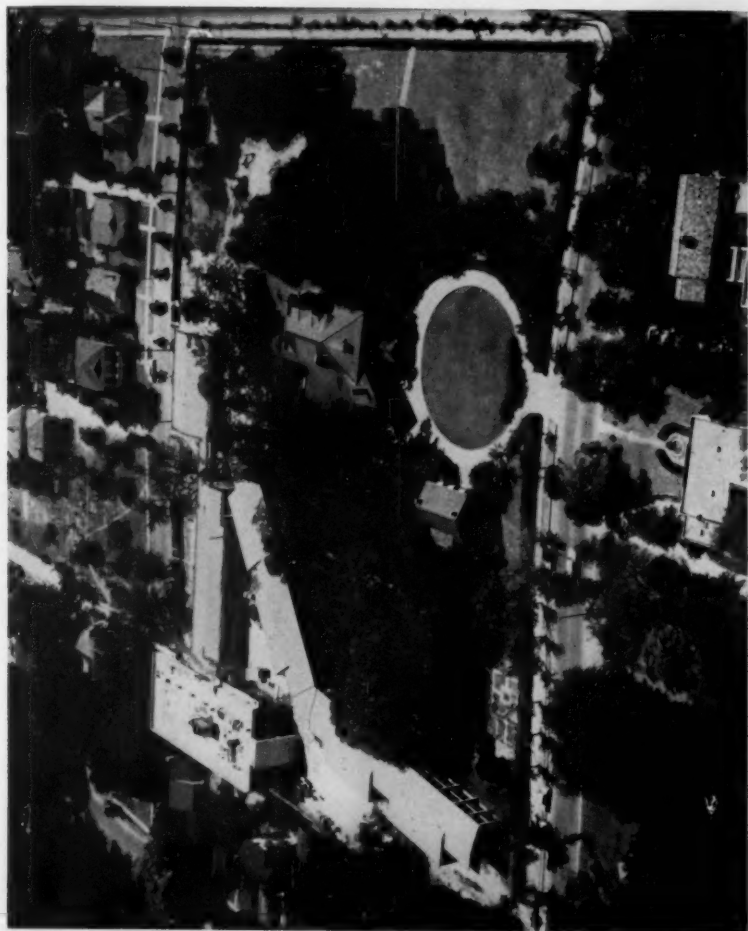


New Library Building of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas

This view shows the full expanse of the north side of the building, the stone wall being the outside wall of the exterior stairwell



New Library Building of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas
This picture shows the classroom and faculty office building to the north, and about the south half of the Library building itself. Not quite half of the Library shows in this picture



AERIAL VIEW OF THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE SOUTHWEST

The New Home of the Church Historical Society is the New Library Building, to be seen in the upper left hand corner of the picture.

Name One of the Three!

IN this propaganda-conscious world, nothing can be taken for granted. Virginians and Episcopalians generally assume that every American knows that "the continuous history of American Society begins with the foundation of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607," and that "the continuous history of the Episcopal Church in America begins at the same time, in the same place, and with the same event."¹ As a matter of fact, few do.

In 1954, the American Bible Society released a film, depicting the coming of the Bible to America. The film showed the Pilgrims, but not the Jamestown settlers, and stated in the accompanying script:

"The English Bible was brought to America by the Pilgrim Fathers."

The Church of England gave the English Bible to the world. The Rev. Robert Hunt was a priest of that Church, and his fellow settlers at Jamestown were members of it. Would the American Bible Society please tell us what Bible Mr. Hunt and his companions brought to America, if it was not the English Bible?

A recent editorial in the *New York Times*,² "Helping Today's Immigrants," states in its opening paragraph:

"The great majority of Americans today are immigrants from Europe or the descendants of such immigrants. From the time of the *Mayflower* to the present day such immigration has been a pioneering venture for those engaged in it, a shift often accompanied by difficulties that had to be overcome."

According to our historical information, immigration into America did not begin with the *Mayflower* but with the three ships that landed at Jamestown, Virginia, thirteen years before the *Mayflower* was ever heard of. But alas!, how many Americans can name one of the three ships which actually began one of the greatest movements of population in recorded history?

While Virginians and Episcopalians have been complacent if not smug about the historical facts, and have bothered little to see that they were known and understood and appreciated, those who write our history books have made the ship *Mayflower* a household word, and countless

¹William Wilson Manross, "The Church in Virginia," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVI(1947), 132.

²Issue of June 5, 1956.

hotels have been named after it. It would probably be embarrassing even to the clergy of the Episcopal Church to be quizzed on this matter of the names of the first ships to be moored to trees some thirty miles up the James River on May 13, 1607, which thus began the first permanently successful English colony in America. To save our readers any such embarrassment, here are their names:

Susan Constant, 100 tons burden.

Godspeed, 40 tons burden.

Discovery, a pinnacle of 20 tons burden.

W. H. S.

Current Books on Church History

EACH May, the *Bulletin of the General Theological Seminary*, New York City, publishes notes of recent books prepared by the various departments of the seminary. The notes on "Church History" appearing in the May 1956 *Bulletin*, pp. 16-18, were prepared by the Rev. Robert S. Bosher, Ph.D., professor in the department of Ecclesiastical History; and are worthy of a wider circulation. They are as follows:

CHURCH HISTORY

The past year has seen the publication of several important books in the field of Medieval Church history, notably the first volume of the comprehensive *History of the Crusades* (University of Pennsylvania Press). Edited by K. M. Setton, it is a composite work to which leading scholars both in England and America are contributing. Walter Ullman, the chief authority on medieval papal administration, has prepared a *magnum opus* in *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (Methuen), and Brian Tierney's *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (Cambridge University Press) examines the contribution to conciliar ideas of the medieval canonists. Steven Runciman has thrown important new light on the final division between Eastern and Western Christianity in *The Eastern Schism* (Clarendon Press); he demonstrates that no single date marks the inauguration of the schism, which at the time was much less clear-cut and perceptible than formerly supposed. An earlier work by the same author, *Byzantine Civilization*, has just been reprinted in a cheap paper-bound edition (Meridian Books), and is well worth buying.

The medieval English Church has also been the subject of several studies. In *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Athlone Press), A. Saltman has written a learned and not very

lively account of Thomas a Becket's predecessor and patron. W. A. Pantin has analyzed in detail certain aspects of church life and administration in his Birkbeck Lectures, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press); while Dom David Knowles has completed the penultimate volume of his great history of English monasticism before the Reformation, *The Religious Orders in England: The End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press). In *The Later Plantagenets, 1307-1485* (E. Arnold), V. H. H. Green has made valuable use of the results of recent research, and his book meets the need for a competent modern history of the period.

Students of the English Reformation will find much of interest in Professor Conyers Read's *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (Jonathan Cape), a lengthy account of the relations of those two architects of the Elizabethan Settlement. At long last an adequate biography of the first Stuart monarch has appeared, *King James VI and I* (Jonathan Cape), by D. H. Willson. William Haller continues his exhaustive study of Puritan controversial literature in *Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution* (Columbia University Press), and Miss C. V. Wedgwood has issued the first installment of a new history of the English Civil War, *The Great Rebellion: Volume I, The King's Peace* (Collins). Fine scholarship and brilliant descriptive power promise to make this a notable addition to English historical writing.

Margaret Cropper has produced a sequel to her popular *Flame Touches Flame in Sparks Among the Stubble* (Longmans), a book which presents in highly readable form seven studies of Anglican holiness in the much maligned eighteenth century church. Several recent books are remarkable for being sincere tributes to the Church of England by Roman Catholic writers. *The Call of the Cloister* (S.P.C.K.), by Peter Anson, is a major history of the revival of monastic communities in the Anglican Communion, a work based on careful research and written with genuine appreciation. M. F. Reidy's *Bishop Lancelot Andrewes* (Loyola University Press) is a competent study of Andrewes as writer, preacher and theologian.

Two books with a novel approach to English Church history are Canon Charles Smyth's *Church and People: Studies in Church Problems Illustrated from the Parochial History of St. Margaret's, Westminster* (S.P.C.K.), given as the Paddock Lectures at the General Seminary in 1954, and G. L. Prestige's *St. Paul's in its Glory, 1831-1911*, (S.P.C.K.), a fascinating story of church revival as seen in the life of a great cathedral. A good history of the theological struggles and developments of the later Victorian era is now available in L. E. Elliott Binns'

English Thought, 1860-1900: the Theological Aspect (Seabury Press).

In the field of American religion, a work of first importance to the history of our own Church has just been published by the Seabury Press, *The Critical Years, 1780-1789*, by Clara O. Loveland. This is a definitive study of the formative period of the establishment of the national Church, a book which can be commended as both scholarly and readable.

Two other books which throw valuable light on distinctive aspects of American Protestantism are C. A. Johnson's *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time* (Southern Methodist University Press) and a serious study of revivalism in a later phase, *Bill Sunday Was His Real Name* (University of Chicago Press), by W. G. McLaughlin.

ROBERT S. BOSHER.

"It is the Part of Wisdom to Respect History"

DR. Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, speaking to the graduating class of 623 on June 12, 1956, said:

"It is the part of wisdom to respect history, in other words, the accumulated experience and discipline of the past. One whose energy is wholly consumed by intolerantly breaking with the past dissipates his talents; for such misguided energy only exhausts itself in undisciplined self-expression and final disillusionment and defeat."

The Usefulness of "Historical Magazine"— Past and Present

WHILE we consider that the value of a knowledge of history transcends any pragmatic test, we are nevertheless enheartened when any such important institution as The Church Pension Fund finds HISTORICAL MAGAZINE particularly useful. We share with our readers a recent letter from the Executive Vice-President, Mr. Robert Worthington:

July 10, 1956

My dear Dr. Stowe:

I want to let you know that I found the June issue of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE particularly interesting, especially because of the paragraphs on the Pension Fund in the article by

the Reverend DuBose Murphy, and the page on *The Clerical Directory of 1956*.

This leads me to mention that your article¹ in the issue of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE back in 1941 on the history of clerical directories came in very useful when recently a new girl came in to take over the work on the *Directory* as replacement of Miss Marjorie Hillman, who has retired after about forty years with the Fund.

And it leads me to mention that I have just re-read your story on "The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen" in the March 1934 issue.²

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) ROBERT WORTHINGTON,
Executive Vice-President.

Miss Hillman's Record of Distinguished Service

AS stated above in Mr. Robert Worthington's letter, Miss Marjorie Hillman "has retired after about forty years with [The Church Pension] Fund." As we understand it, Miss Hillman was engaged in tabulating the longevity records of the clergy before March 1, 1917, when the Fund actually started paying pensions, and since that date her major responsibility has been to keep straight the biographical and service records of the clergy. Latterly, she has held the office of Assistant Secretary of the Fund.

Any person who has undertaken research in 19th century ecclesiastical history and biography knows how much easier in one respect is the task of research in the 20th century field, because of the accurate biographical data now readily available in the Fund's files and in the various editions of the *Clerical Directory*.

But Miss Hillman was also concerned that the biographical data of the clergy of the Episcopal Church during its first century of American ordinations, 1785-1885, should be as complete as possible. We have had occasion to consult her concerning clergymen of this period, and once in a while we have been able to supply some biographical items, through Miss Hillman, to the files of the Recorder of Ordinations, which office The Church Pension Fund now holds.

¹"Clerical Directories—Past and Present," in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, X(1941), 390-398.

²HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, III(1934), 19-33.

If they only know it, ecclesiastical historians of both the present and the future will often have occasion to rise up and call Miss Hillman blessed, in view of her own distinguished record in keeping clergy records. Right now we say, "Thank you," and may the well-earned years of her retirement be richly blessed!

WALTER H. STOWE.

Mrs. Voorhees' Scrapbooks of the General Convention

THOSE who would write interesting history always feel the need of something more than a bare chronicle of facts, essential as such a source is. They need sources which will enable them to recapture the color and mood of the time or occasion about which they are writing.

Those who have endeavored to write up the story of this or that General Convention know what we mean. The *journals* of the Convention yield facts, but other sources have to be consulted to enter into the atmosphere which produced the facts.

Future historians of the General Convention, beginning with that of 1937, will have reason to be grateful to Dorothy H. (Mrs. Ralph B.) Voorhees, Parish Secretary of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, for the scrapbooks of the General Convention which she has prepared. The rector of the parish, as a deputy to the Convention, always subscribed to the local newspapers during the session in Mrs. Voorhees, Parish Secretary of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, in each issue, and pasted it in a scrapbook. The usefulness of this to the historian, for purposes of recapturing the tone of the Convention and the reactions of the local press, is patent.

The scrapbook of the General Convention of 1955 in Honolulu, as prepared by Mrs. Voorhees, is before me. It consists of thirty-three pages of clippings from the Honolulu newspapers. Illustrations are numerous. After September 7th, the Convention had a "bad press," due to intemperate statements of a missionary bishop at a missionary mass meeting. One of the by-products of reading HISTORICAL MAGAZINE should be that bishops and priests do not make public charges without presenting proof of those charges. One who seriously reads and studies history does not publicly charge another Church with propagating "a religion of exploitation and superstition" without, first, defining the terms, and, second, presenting proof. Let this be a lesson to the

National Council in planning missionary mass meetings at future Conventions.

The scrapbooks of General Convention, so carefully prepared by Mrs. Voorhees, are deposited with the Church Historical Society, 606 Rathervue Place, Austin, Texas, for the benefit of future historians.

W. H. S.

Religious Affiliation in Seventeenth Century Maryland

By George B. Scriven*



N analysis of religious affiliation in seventeenth century Maryland is of use in understanding the colonists' part in establishing the Church of England as the tax-supported religious body in Maryland. Fortunately, enough documentary evidence remains to give a fairly clear picture of the various religious allegiances which were then in existence.

Many attempts have been made to determine the religious composition of the first group of Maryland settlers who arrived in 1634. It is known that among the twenty gentlemen adventurers there were at least two Jesuit priests, Frs. White and Altham, and that probably there was a third priest and two lay brothers. It is likely that all of the gentlemen adventurers and their families were Roman Catholic.¹ It is fair to assume that the two hundred or so laborers and servants were for the most part non-Roman, and that probably most of them were at least nominally Anglican. Father Henry Moore, the Jesuit Provincial in England, writing to Rome seven years after the founding of Maryland, states that "three parts of the people in four are heretics."² If this estimate is correct, there was then a greater proportion of Roman Catholics in Maryland than at any later period. Because of the political conditions in England, and the fact that the Roman Catholics were a minority, they were cautioned by the proprietor to keep their services in the background, and not to be forward in arguing religious matters.

The first church of the colonists was an Indian cabin, which Fr. White adapted to worship. This inadequate shelter soon gave way to a brick chapel, about eighteen by thirty feet in size. A reference in the archives³ to the chapel at St. Mary's shows that it must have been built less than four years after the settlement. Title to the twenty-five acres

*The author is rector of the Church of the Nativity, Baltimore, Maryland.—
Editor's note.

¹*Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 18*, p. 31.

For a different estimate, see Ethan Allen, "Who Were the First Settlers of Maryland," in *Maryland Historical Society Pre-Fund Publication No. 24*.

For the Jesuit records, see Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* (1908), I, 269ff.

²*Records of the English Province, Society of Jesus*, Parts V-VIII, 364.

³*Archives of Maryland*, IV, 36.

of chapel land was held at first by Mr. Thomas Copley (the name used by Fr. Philip Fisher), and passed in April 1641 to Governor Calvert. Roman Catholic churches and lands were privately owned because of Section IV of the Maryland Charter, which says

"The Patronage and avowsons of all churches which within the said Region . . . shall happen to be built . . . the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of our Kingdom of England."

It is known from the will of John Lloyd that the chapel grounds were "ye ordinary burying place." The chapel at St. Mary's continued to be in use for Roman Catholic worship throughout this century, but it was destroyed in the next one.

This chapel was also used by Anglicans for services until their three churches were built in 1642. The use of the first building by Anglicans is demonstrated in the record of proceedings against William Lewis, which show the complainants on their way to the chapel on July 1, 1638, to procure the signatures of the Protestants there assembled.⁴ It is seen again on March 23, 1641, seven years after the beginning of the colony, when a protest was made to the assembly against Dr. Thomas Gerard, a prominent Roman Catholic layman, for removing the key to the chapel and some of the books. The assembly ordered Gerard to bring back the books, to return the key, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco toward the maintenance of the first Protestant minister that should arrive.⁵

Although his charter made it possible for Lord Baltimore to aid Anglican worship, the proprietor was as consistent in neglecting to appoint ministers of the Anglican Church to livings as he was obdurate in resisting Jesuit claims to special privilege. Perhaps this was because he really believed that any sort of established church would be a hindrance to his cause of religious liberty.⁶ After the Restoration, an effort was made in 1661 by the lower house of the legislature (representing the colonists) to provide "mayentenance for ministers," but the upper house (representing the proprietor) killed the measure.⁷ The Anglican Church

⁴*Arch. Md.*, IV, 35. For the argument that this could not be true, see Hughes, I, 540.

⁵*Arch. Md.*, I, 119.

⁶It is possible, of course, that Calvert, like William Penn, found toleration a marketable commodity, and was uninterested in the colonists' religion so long as he made money on his project.

⁷*Arch. Md.*, I, 406. Efforts for establishment were also made by private individuals, such as the Rev. Mr. Yeo and Mistress Mary Taney—*Maryland Historical Magazine*, XI, 23.

continued to grow, however, without any help from the proprietor. The only church buildings in the province at the time of the Restoration (1660) were the original Roman Catholic church at St. Mary's City, and four Anglican churches.

The first three Anglican churches,⁸ all built about 1642, were Trinity, St. Mary's City; St. George's, Poplar Hill, a few miles away, across the St. Mary's River; and a third, which was built about a mile away from Dr. Gerard's house, at the head of St. Patrick's Creek and north of St. Clement's Bay.⁹ Apparently, Dr. Gerard carried no resentment about the friction of a year before, as this church was his gift, being built for the benefit of his Anglican wife and her associates.¹⁰ The fourth Anglican church was built at Broad Creek on Kent Island, probably, though not certainly, in 1652.¹¹

Although well provided with churches, there were no resident priests of the Anglican Church during the first sixteen years of the colony, its ministry then consisting of lay readers, and of visiting priests who came across the Potomac River from Virginia.¹² The first Anglican priest to take up residence was the Rev. William Wilkinson, who brought his family and servants up from Virginia and settled in St. Mary's County on his nine hundred acre plantation in 1650. Until his death thirteen years later, he ministered to the Anglican churches in his county.¹³

Several records of the time, soon after the Restoration, give us information about the population of that time and of its religious diversification. In 1669, the proprietor complained that there were then only two priests to minister to the 2,000 Roman Catholics then in the prov-

⁸The term "parish" is used as early as June, 1654, in the gift of cattle for the use of a church in St. Mary's County by William Marshall—*Arch. Md.*, X, 393.

⁹M.H.M., XLVI, 191.

¹⁰It has been claimed that the Anglican church at St. Mary's City existed six years earlier at Smith's (Church) Creek, and was moved to St. Mary's City in 1642. It has also been claimed that the chapel over which Dr. Gerard had his difficulty was the one which he erected for his wife on his own land.

¹¹In 1636, when Kent Island was still Virginia territory, there was a church of sorts on the island where Henry Pincke was employed by Claiborne as a lay reader until "he breake his legg and was unserviceable." Here the Rev. William James was the resident Anglican priest after Pincke had his accident.

¹²This tradition is probably accurate, but is unverified in the records. The Rev. Thomas White who married Cornwallis' servants, and has been cited as an Anglican, was undoubtedly Fr. Andrew White, the Jesuit. See, *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 28*, pp. 201, 211.

¹³The method of calling clergymen to the early parishes is illustrated in the will of Robert Cager of St. Mary's County in 1674 (*Maryland Calendar of Wills*, I, p. 115), and in the will of Richard Ladd of Calvert County in 1684 (*Md. Wills*, IV, p. 235). Cager directed that the minister settled under the provisions of his bequest be admitted upon the approval of the majority of the inhabitants (call by a congregation), while Captain Ladd directed that his bequest go to a minister to be settled by the consent of four men (*a de facto vestry*).

ince.¹⁴ In 1678, the Rev. John Yeo, in writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury,¹⁵ said that there were then about 20,000 souls in the province, and only three ministers of the Church of England. He mentions that Roman Catholic and Quaker ministers were being supported by those of their faiths, and makes scornful reference to others who pretend that they are ministers but for the most part were such as never understood anything of learning. In March 1678, Lord Baltimore, in his answers to queries of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, said

"Very few were inclined to goe and seat themselves in those parts But such as for some Reason or other could not lyve with ease in other places And of these a great parte were such as could not conforme in all particulars to the severall Lawes of England relating to Religion."¹⁶

A year earlier he had stated to the same body that

"The greatest part of the Inhabitants of that Province (three of four at least) doe consist of Praesbiterians, Independents, Anabaptists and Quakers, those of the Church of England as well as those of the Romish being the fewest."¹⁷

He also stated that there were then four ministers of the Church of England who had plantations of their own, and that there were others¹⁸ who were maintained by voluntary contributions, as were the ministers of Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, Quaker and Roman Catholic groups.

When these statements are correlated, they inform us that at the time of 1670-1675, there were about 20,000 people in Maryland, of whom 3,000 were Anglicans, 2,000 were Roman Catholics, and the remainder were of nonconformist background. Among these, the names Quaker, Presbyterian, Anabaptist, and Independent are mentioned. And among these nonconformists there were, according to Yeo, some ministers who were uneducated; and these ministers, according to the proprietor, were supported by their co-religionists.¹⁹ However, as we shall see later,

¹⁴Quoted in William W. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York, 1949), p. 176. Full details may be found in Hughes, II, p. 82.

¹⁵*Arch. Md.*, V, p. 130.

¹⁶*Arch. Md.*, V, p. 267.

¹⁷*Arch. Md.*, V, p. 133.

¹⁸By "others," the proprietor may have meant lay readers.

¹⁹Torrence lists five ministers of unknown affiliation who officiated in Somerset County between 1671 and 1689. One of these, Robert Maddox, had the curious distinction of being selected by the Grand Jury of 1671 as the person who should preach at four places in the county on successive Sundays thereafter.—Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), pp. 118ff.

none of these except the Quakers had organized congregations, and even these had no meeting houses as yet. In this three-quarters of the population, religious prejudice against Anglicans and Roman Catholics undoubtedly existed, though their positive beliefs (except among the Quakers) were not strong enough to cause them to form congregations or to build churches. Although several hundred English Puritans came to Anne Arundel County from Virginia about 1650, and were an important political element, there is no record of their formation of any congregations, nor did they have any Congregational meeting houses in Maryland.²⁰ Apparently, those who continued as members of any religious group became either Anglicans or Quakers. No Baptist church was organized in Maryland until well into the next century, when an Englishman named Sater built Sater's church, in 1742. It was located on Chestnut Ridge, near the present Falls Road, just north of the Green Spring Valley in Baltimore County.

The building of Roman Catholic churches (other than the original one at St. Mary's) began soon after 1661 with the erection of a frame building, which was St. Ignatius' Church, Newtown.²¹ By 1677 the Roman Catholics had ten missionaries in the colony, and had started a school for the sons of planters.

Quaker beginnings in Maryland are traced back to their first missionary in Maryland, Elizabeth Harris, who arrived in September of 1656. She found some Quakers along the Severn and in Kent, and made more converts in those areas. The early Quakers were resisted by the Maryland authorities, as it was supposed that they were against the government because they dissuaded people from military service, from giving testimony under oath, and from being sworn into office.

The first "general meeting" of all the Quakers in the colony was called in April, 1672, by John Burnyeat, a missionary, at West River in Anne Arundel County. Here George Fox, the founder, addressed the meeting. This was the second yearly meeting to be held in the colonies, the first having been held in Rhode Island during 1661. At a later time, in 1762, Fox also held a five-day general meeting at the home of Christian Wenlock at Accomac on the Eastern Shore. Fox rejoiced in this year that many prominent Maryland people had become Quakers. From that time forward, the Quakers were an important element in the

²⁰These English Puritans should not be confused with the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Somerset County, who organized thirty years later.

²¹J. W. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland, 1913), p. 215. The scarcity of buildings before the Restoration did not, of course, prevent Roman Catholic priests from saying Masses and teaching wherever they were.

Maryland population. Regular yearly meetings began in Talbot County and in Anne Arundel in 1675. The first Quaker meeting house in Maryland (still unfinished in 1678) was built at Betty's Cove on Miles River. The Third Haven meeting house at Easton (enlarged in 1797) was built in 1684, and is still in use, being the oldest house of worship which has been in continuous use in Maryland.²² Its records, which are still in existence, date from 1676.

Presbyterians were a small Scotch-Irish element in Maryland during the last two decades of the seventeenth century. The first identifiable Presbyterian in Maryland is the redoubtable Colonel Ninian Beall, who settled in Calvert during 1668, and who attracted others of his faith to his neighborhood, but it was on the Eastern Shore that Presbyterians had their greatest strength and their first organized churches and ministry.²³ In 1680, Colonel William Stevens, an Anglican of Somerset and a prominent official of the colony, transmitted to the presbytery of Laggan in Ireland a request from Somerset Presbyterians for a clergyman to come over and minister to them.²⁴ Three years later, the Rev. Francis Makemie came to Rehoboth (now Pokomoke) from Ireland as a result of this request. The early years of his ministry were itinerant, throughout the Southern colonies, but he seems always to have maintained some contact with Rehoboth. In this village, there was a church building which was in existence before 1691 (and ceased to exist before 1697), which was for a time used jointly by Anglicans and Presbyterians, or else the Presbyterians had a separate building for a few years after Makemie arrived.²⁵

In the Sheriff's Report of 1698,²⁶ three dissenting (Presbyterian) churches are listed in Somerset, all described as plain country buildings about thirty feet long. The one at Snow Hill was probably built about

²²The Anglican Trinity Church at Church Creek, Dorchester County, which was built about 1680, is the oldest house of worship which is still standing in this state, but it has not been in continuous use. St. Paul's in Kent County (built in 1713) is the oldest building which has been in continuous use as a place of Anglican worship.

²³There was a Presbyterian minister, about whom almost nothing is known, in Charles County between 1669 and 1679 [Torrance, p. 211]. For the fragmentary information about the Rev. Francis Dougherty and the Rev. Matthew Hill, see J. W. McIlvain, *Early Presbyterianism in Maryland* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 1898, No. 3).

²⁴Torrance, p. 214.

²⁵Torrance, p. 169. For another joint use of a church, see Percy Skirven, *Ancient Shrewsbury Parish*.

²⁶In 1698, the county sheriffs made a report to the Governor and Council, which was a census of ministers and places of worship of all Roman Catholics and dissenters. The report is printed in full in W. S. Perry, *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Maryland, 1694-1775*, p. 22.

1687-1690, and is the mother church of Presbyterianism in the United States. Another at Nearokin (now Princess Anne) was built slightly later. A third, "at the Road going up along the Sea Side," was about where the village of Newark is now located.

At this time, two Presbyterian ministers were in residence, Thomas Wilson at Nearokin, and Samuel Davis at Snow Hill. Makemie was then living at Accomac in nearby Virginia, but ministering regularly at Rehoboth, apparently without a church. A petition to the Maryland Council on September 30, 1692,²⁷ by one hundred and twelve people of Somerset County, shows that the three Presbyterian ministers of Maryland (Makemie, Wilson, and Davis) hoped to be included in the establishment, though retaining their Presbyterian ministry. The three Presbyterian churches in Maryland were relatively important in Presbyterian history as there were only about a dozen such churches in the American colonies by the end of the seventeenth century.

Since in Maryland alone of all the American colonies each of the religious groupings was represented, only Maryland completely reflected the power politics of English religious groups. Here Anglican, Roman Catholic, and nonconformist each came to power when their co-religionists had control in England. For example, in 1646 Fathers White and Fisher were taken prisoner to England during Ingle's Insurrection, and Roman Catholic property was plundered, while in the reigns of Charles II (1660-1685) and the Roman Catholic James II (1685-1689), the Roman Catholics had their greatest opportunity in Maryland.²⁸

As has happened so often, the name of the Anglican group, except in England, is a subject of some confusion. It is usually referred to in the early Maryland records as "The Protestant Church,"²⁹ to distinguish it from the only other organized group, which was the Roman Catholic. It could not, in seventeenth century Maryland, be equated with the nonconformists as "one of the Protestant Churches," any more than it could have been in the England of that day. As we have seen, nonconformists were not well enough organized in Maryland to build churches until about ten years before the efforts for Anglican establishment began, and by that time only Quakers and Presbyterians were or-

²⁷*Arch. Md.*, VIII, p. 366.

²⁸Maryland also had one of the continental Quietest groups, the Labadists of Cecil County, who came, and also for the most part faded out of existence, in the last twenty years of the seventeenth century.

²⁹As "The Protestant Church," the Anglicans received bequests in wills, sometimes of whole plantations. See the following for examples: *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, I, p. 40; *Randall*, p. 87; *Walker*, p. 125; *Archer*, p. 161; *Wheeler*, p. 216; *Eaton*.

ganized. On occasion, men tried to be exact and point it out by a descriptive title. In 1641, the protest against Dr. Gerard's shutting off the use of the chapel at St. Mary's City was made "in the name of the Protestant Catholics of Maryland."³⁰ In 1663, when George Alsop was composing his book, *A Character of the Province of Maryland*,³¹ on the Stockett plantation where the town of Havre de Grace now is, he called the Anglicans "Protestant Episcopal." The English King and Council, writing to Governor Nicholson, called it "The Orthodox Church."³²

As the end of the century approaches, we see the strength of the Anglican group becoming apparent. According to Dr. Ethan Allen's list, which for the most part seems accurate, there were twenty-one Anglican churches in Maryland by 1691, before the efforts for establishment were made. Dorchester and Somerset each had one, and every other county had two or more, except perhaps Baltimore. Shortly before the establishment, there were eight Anglican priests resident in the colony; the parishes in Kent, Baltimore, and Anne Arundel County being vacant.

According to a report sent in 1701 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,³³ Maryland then contained about 25,000 people, divided into twenty-six parishes.³⁴ A memorial presenting the case of the Church in Maryland was made in 1700 by the Provincial Council to the Lords of Trade and Plantation,³⁵ which points out that "the Papists and Quakers" had vigorously obstructed the laws concerning establishment, but that no other sect of religion had done so. In this report it is said that the Quakers would not make one-twelfth of the population, and that the Roman Catholics had a similar proportion of the people. This would give to each of these bodies an approximate membership of 2,083.³⁶ If the actual membership of Anglicans kept pace in the last quarter of the century with the growth of population, they would number about 3,750 by the year 1700. Owing to the unusually rapid growth in ministry and parishes during this time, we may assume that Anglican membership had grown faster than its earlier proportion in the population would

³⁰*Arch. Md.*, I, p. 119.

³¹Published in London in 1666.

³²*Arch. Md.*, XXIII, p. 545.

³³*An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society, etc.* (New York 1853), pp. 17-24.

³⁴This estimate agrees fairly well with the records of taxables in Maryland (*Arch. Md.*, XXV, p. 255), which shows 10,381 taxables in 1698, and 12,214 in 1701, there being a total population of 32,258 people, including slaves, in 1701. The number of slaves in 1704 is given as 4,475.

³⁵*Arch. Md.*, XXV, p. 93.

³⁶A census of 1708 gives the Roman Catholic numbers as 2,974 (*Arch. Md.*, XXV, p. 258), but that was after a heavy immigration of Irish servants.

indicate. If we assume that its members per place of worship were at least as many as that of the newly organized Presbyterians (a figure which we will examine later), the number of Anglicans by the century's end would be 5,070.

The 1698 sheriffs' returns show that the Roman Catholics then had five priests and two lay brothers. They had a total of nine chapels, four each in St. Mary's County and Charles County, and one chapel on the Eastern Shore in Talbot County. If they numbered one-twelfth (2083) of the population, they had an average of 231 members per place of worship. Seven of the ten counties had no Roman Catholic church or clergyman.

The Quakers had eight meeting houses and five private homes in which meetings were held: a total of thirteen places of worship in four counties—Anne Arundel, Calvert, Talbot and Kent. If they numbered one-twelfth (2083) of the population, they had an average of 160 members per place of worship. According to the sheriffs' report, they had neither meeting place nor teachers in six of the ten counties.⁸⁷

Presbyterianism had grown enough to possess three churches, all of which were in Somerset County. No membership figures are listed. If we assume that their members were midway per congregation between those of the Quakers (160) and of the Roman Catholics (231), they had an average of 195 members per place of worship and a total membership of 585. Since no figures are given for Anglicans, this same median figure of 195 per place of worship is assumed for them.⁸⁸

By 1700, the Anglicans, therefore, may be assumed to have more than equalled the total of all Roman Catholics and dissenters combined, 5,070 compared to 4,751. They had as many churches as all of the others combined, more clergymen,⁸⁹ were the only group having churches in every county, and had occupied at least one church in every county for a decade. They were the only Church represented in three counties: Baltimore, Prince George, and Dorchester; while in a fourth, Kent, the only non-Anglican Church members were three Roman Catholics and twenty-five Quakers. It is interesting to note that in frontier Baltimore County, the parish church, St. George's, had been keeping public records

⁸⁷For the rise and partial decline of Quaker religion in Somerset County before the Establishment, *see* Torrance, p. 85.

⁸⁸Perhaps the number of nominal Anglicans raised the figure beyond this. Under the Establishment, many who were not working members of some other group looked to the Establishment for occasional ministrations and worship. Some of the reports for the early part of the next century bear this out. *See*, for example, Perry, pp. 190ff.

⁸⁹Seventeen clergymen attended Dr. Bray's meeting at Annapolis in 1700.

of births, marriages and deaths since 1681, and these records are still in existence. When a frontier parish performed this service, it is likely that parishes in more settled areas did as much, but since most of the early parish records have been destroyed, the evidence is unavailable.⁴⁰

It is perhaps worth-while, in conclusion, to point out that except among the Roman Catholics, where the proportion of clergymen was sometimes high, most of the initiative in erecting and maintaining churches came from laymen. Presbyterian beginnings were due to the invitation of laymen to a foreign preacher to come over and minister to them. Among the Quakers, there was no regular ministry, the entire plan of Quaker belief and worship being based on lay initiative. Among Anglicans, the first three churches were built before any resident priest came to the colony. Services were often conducted by lay readers throughout the century, owing to the relative scarcity of Anglican priests. Parish records of births, marriages and deaths were maintained at St. George's in Baltimore County, though the priestly ministration was occasional. And finally, the drive for Establishment came from laymen, not from a group of the clergy. In this effort, there was the acquiescence, and possibly the cooperation, of many men who had no religion affiliation. Such men were afraid of the Roman Catholics, and backed Anglicanism in order to check Roman Catholic influence.

If these records are approximately correct, and if the assumptions which we have built upon them are valid, the religion affiliations at the end of the century were about as follows:

The population (exclusive of slaves) numbered about 25,000.

Of these, about 15,000 were of nonconformist background, but lacked enough positive belief to cause them to form congregations or to build churches.

Of the remaining 10,000 Church people, more than half were Anglicans (5,070), while a little less than half (4,751) was made up of about 2083 Quakers, about 2083 Roman Catholics, and about 585 Presbyterians.

⁴⁰An Act of Assembly in 1674 (*Arch. Md.*, II, p. 376) called for the revival of the law concerning the registration of births, marriages, and deaths. Liber ILK of Somerset County Court contains a partial register of births, marriages, and deaths, and a few entries of baptisms [Torrance, pp. 125, 515.]

John Wurts Cloud Priest and Planter

By Andrew Forest Muir*



CLERGY of the Episcopal Church were likely to be among the best educated men on the American frontier. Although never numerous, they had an effect upon the tone of society that was not at all inconsequential, and in addition they often conducted the best schools in the new areas. In both respects, John Wurts Cloud¹ carried on the traditions of his brethren.

Early Life and Ministry

Cloud, the fifth of eight children of Adam Cloud and Mary Grandin, was born in Flanders, New Jersey, February 27, 1797.² His birth occurred some two years after his father, a minister of the Gospel, had been expelled by the Spanish authorities from West Florida.³ After John's birth, the family settled in Savannah, Georgia, and there he grew up (with a possible hiatus after 1808) until 1815 or 1816, when they returned to the Natchez, Mississippi, area.⁴ About the same time, John entered the Episcopal Academy in Connecticut, at Cheshire, where he prepared for college. He entered the sophomore class of Yale College in

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¹The writer's first published statement on Cloud appears in "Early Missionaries in Texas, with Documents Illustrative of Richard Salmon's Church Colony," in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, X (Sept., 1941), 219-221. This essay was substantially used in Jesse Guy Smith, *Heroes of the Saddle Bags, a History of Christian Denominations in the Republic of Texas* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, c1951), 168, 180, and, without citation, in Rebecca Rubert, "John Wurts Cloud," in Walter Prescott Webb (ed.), *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1952), I, 364.

²Photostat of family record from John Wurts Cloud's Bible, courtesy of Mr. Raymond Houston Wilson, attorney, of Houston. A loose sheet found in Adam Cloud's Bible shows this birth to have occurred in Savannah, Georgia, and his posthumous daughter stated he had been born on February 15, 1797. This place and date, rather than those found in what appears to be the most reliable source, have been followed by all who previously have written on John Wurts Cloud.

³Nash Kerr Burger, "Adam Cloud: Mississippi's First Episcopal Clergyman," in *Journal of Mississippi History*, X (Apr., 1947), reprinted in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVII (June, 1948), 167. For the present writer's statement of the case against Adam Cloud's having been in holy orders, see "New Light on Adam Cloud" in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XXV (June, 1956), 201-207.

⁴Burger, "Adam Cloud" in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVII, 170.

1820, and was graduated with the bachelor of arts degree in 1823.⁵ Cloud's whereabouts during the next two years is not apparent, but there is a possibility that he was in Cheshire. In 1825, he was listed as a candidate for holy orders, although there is no evidence that he was studying in a theological seminary.⁶ He might have been reading with a clergyman, as he appears to have been doing later.

On December 24, 1825, he was married to Miss Sarah Hull in Cheshire. He was then twenty-eight years old, and his bride, having been born in Cheshire on August 17, 1798, twenty-seven. To this marriage, which lasted for seven and a half years until her death, three children were born: Mary Elizabeth, in Port Gibson, Mississippi, December 31, 1826; Adam Erastus, in Onondaga, New York, July 13, 1829;⁷ and Susan Johnston, in Brazoria, Coahuila and Texas, November 8, 1831.⁸

On January 4, 1826, Cloud was made a deacon in Christ Church, Hartford, by Dr. Thomas Church Brownell, bishop of Connecticut,⁹ and immediately thereafter he removed to Mississippi.¹⁰ He showed his letter of ordination to the clerk of the orphans court of Jefferson County, Mississippi, and received a license on February 28, 1826, permitting him to solemnize "the rites of matrimony between Free White persons within this State according to law,"¹¹ but there is no record that he solemnized any marriages in Mississippi.

⁵Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Notices of Graduates of Yale College Including those Graduated in Classes Later than 1815, Who Are Not Commemorated in the Annual Obituary Records, Issued as a Supplement to the Obituary Records* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913), 104; *Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, 1701-1924* (New Haven: Published by the University, 1924), 155. For an account of the Episcopal Academy, see William A. Beardsley, "The Episcopal Academy in Connecticut, 1794-1917," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIII (Sept., 1944), 193-215.

⁶*Diocese of Connecticut Journal*, 1825, p. 9.

⁷Twelve days before his death, John Wurts Cloud stated under oath that Adam Erastus Cloud had been born on July 11, 1829. Answers to interrogatories, Sept. 3, 1850, in Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, Probate Case Papers of Harris County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Houston), file C-73; see also, Probate Records of Harris County, Texas (MSS. in same place), I (letter), 157.

⁸Photostat of family record from Adam Cloud's Bible. The marriage is recorded in the office of the town clerk of Cheshire. Courtesy of Mr. James R. Lanyon, town clerk, Feb. 17, 1953.

⁹George Burgess, *List of Persons Admitted to the Order of Deacons in the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America, from A. D. 1785, to A. D. 1857, both inclusive* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1875), 13 (No. 645); *Diocese of Connecticut Journal*, 1826, p. 8.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 9; *Christian Journal and Literary Register* (New York), X (Aug., 1826), 243.

¹¹Marriage Records of Jefferson County, Mississippi (MSS. in Chancery Clerk's office, Fayette), A, 231.

Cloud attended the first convention of the diocese of Mississippi, held in Natchez, on May 17-18, 1826,¹² and while there he was notified that he had been elected the first resident minister of St. John's (now St. James') Church, Port Gibson. He reported to the convention that since his arrival within the state, he had celebrated divine service, *i. e.* morning and evening prayer, five times and had baptized one adult and nine children.¹³ He was fairly active in the primary convention, serving on the committee on the state of the Church, moving that the convention appoint a standing committee for the diocese, and signing a declaration of obedience to the constitution and canons of the Church.¹⁴ At the convention of the following year, inclement weather prevented Cloud's attendance, but during its sitting he was appointed alternate preacher for the opening of the next convention, and one of the two clerical trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in the State of Mississippi.¹⁵ Before the next convention met, however, Cloud had removed from Mississippi.¹⁶

In 1828, he was reported as residing in Cheshire, Connecticut.¹⁷ He was probably visiting in the home of his wife's family, and it is likely that he was also reading theology with the Rev. Asa Cornwell, an influential teacher who frequently had young men reading with him for holy orders.¹⁸ Cloud also might have been teaching in the Episcopal Academy.

Shortly afterwards, he removed to Onondaga, New York, and in December, 1828, he was transferred to the diocese of New York by letter dismissory from the bishop of Connecticut.¹⁹ On September 11, 1829, Dr. John Henry Hobart, bishop of New York, ordained him

¹²Nash Kerr Burger (ed.), *Diocese of Mississippi, Journal of the First Convention, 1826* (Jackson: The Editor, 1941); *Inventory of the Church Archives of Mississippi, Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Mississippi* (Jackson: The Mississippi Historical Records Survey Project, 1940), 8; S. F. Hotchkin, "Mississippi," in A. A. Benton (ed.), *The Church Cyclopaedia . . .* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1884), 485.

¹³Burger (ed.), *Diocese of Mississippi, Journal of the First Convention, 1826*, p. 8; *Inventory*, 44.

¹⁴Burger (ed.), *Diocese of Mississippi, Journal of the First Convention, 1826*, pp. 5, 8, 14.

¹⁵Nash Kerr Burger (ed.), *Diocese of Mississippi, Journal of the Second Convention, 1827* (Jackson: The Editor, n.d.), 3, 9, 14. For an account of the Society, see Nash Kerr Burger, "The Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Mississippi," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XIV (Sept., 1945), 264-269.

¹⁶*Diocese of Mississippi Journal, 1828*, p. 7.

¹⁷*Diocese of Connecticut Journal, 1828*, p. 3.

¹⁸Courtesy of Miss Ruth Gillette Hardy, of Spring Valley, New York.

¹⁹*Diocese of Connecticut Journal, 1829*, p. 11; Joshua V. H. Clark, *Onondaga . . .* (Syracuse: Stoddard and Babcock, 1849), II, 134.

priest in Zion Church, Onondaga.²⁰ Cloud, together with a lay delegate, was present at the following annual convention in New York City, a rare event for a congregation so far removed, and he reported that his parish in Onondaga was small but "in it are individuals of great worth, unobtrusive piety, and correct judgment." He also informed the convention that he had held afternoon services in Geddesburg.²¹ During the following year, he was missionary at Onondaga Hill, and received the usual salary of \$125 a year from diocesan funds.²² Shortly after his ordination, Cloud again returned to Mississippi, but he did not tarry there long.²³

As early as 1831, he retired from the ministry. The precise reason for this decision is not known, but there are two possibilities that might have operated either singly or jointly. His health was not good,²⁴ and he probably was unable to support himself and his family on the compensation he received. Certainly there is no evidence that he underwent any loss of faith or any alteration in ecclesiastical loyalty. Never suspended or deposed from the priesthood, he appears not to have regarded himself any longer as a clergyman, although he made no effort to conceal the fact that he had been in holy orders,²⁵ and there is no record that he thereafter officiated in any clerical capacity. There is also the possibility that Cloud had ambitions to become a planter, a title that he later used with some pride,²⁶ as he had received a taste of land ownership in 1816 and 1828, when his father gave him 575 acres in Georgia and 150 acres in Mississippi.²⁷

²⁰*Diocese of New York Journal*, 1829, p. 17.

²¹*Ibid.*, 7, 38-39.

²²*Diocese of New York Journal*, 1830, p. 45.

²³As late as 1832, Cloud was listed without address as canonically resident in the diocese of Mississippi. *General Convention Journal*, 1832, p. 151.

²⁴Annie Doom Pickrell, *Pioneer Women in Texas* (Austin: E. L. Stock Company, c1929), 77; recollection of Cloud's posthumous daughter, Mrs. Edward Taylor Moore, of Austin, courtesy of Miss Myrtle Cloud, of Austin, Nov. 26, 1940.

²⁵Cloud is referred to as a preacher and a clergyman in P. E. Peareson, "Reminiscences of Judge Edwin Waller," in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, IV (July, 1900), 36, and John Henry Brown, *History of Texas, from 1685 to 1892* (St. Louis: L. E. Daniell, Publisher, c1893), I, 186n.

²⁶Petition of J. W. Cloud, filed Aug. 23, 1843, in *J. W. Cloud vs. Elisha Maxey* in Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Clerk (MSS. in District Clerk's office, Angleton, Texas), file 969.

²⁷Adam Cloud to John W. Cloud, Mar. 20, 1816, in Deed Records of Franklin County, Georgia (MSS. in Department of Archives and History, Atlanta), HH, 65, and Adam Cloud to John Wurts Cloud, Jan. 25, 1828, in Deed Records of Jefferson County, Mississippi (MSS. in Chancery Clerk's office, Fayette), B, 140. John Wurts Cloud paid taxes on this latter tract in 1829-1831. Tax Rolls (MSS. in Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi), Jefferson County, 1829-1831.

In Colonial Texas

No record showing the precise date of Cloud's removal to Texas, then a part of Mexico, is available, but the existing evidence suggests that he arrived in what is now Brazoria County in the spring of 1831.²⁸ In a legal paper filed in the early autumn of 1843, he stated he had been a resident of the county for twelve years,²⁹ although in a letter written in December, 1831, in what was an obvious attempt to evade the Mexican law of April 6, 1830, prohibiting further Anglo-American immigration into Texas, Stephen F. Austin, who had an *empresario* contract with Mexico, wrote that Cloud had established himself within the colony more than a year previously.³⁰ The earliest contemporary record of him in Texas is dated May, 1831, when he and Obadiah Pitts entered into a copartnership to purchase the northern fourth of the John Bradley league,³¹ fronting on the Brazos River and extending eastward across Oyster Creek into the prairie. As the day approached for the purchase, Pitts was indisposed and arranged for Cloud to make the trade,³² and, on May 11, Pitts committed himself in a legal document, in which he recited that in consideration of half the land to be purchased by Cloud, he bound himself to advance \$100 on the initial payment and to sign with Cloud two notes each for \$150, one payable in one year and the other in two years. Should he fail to meet half of the notes, then he agreed to relinquish claim to the land. He also agreed to pay Cloud a commission not to exceed fifty per cent of his contribution to

²⁸Elisha Maxey knew Cloud in Brazoria County in the spring of 1831. Answers to cross-interrogatories, Nov. 29, 1848, in *F. J. Calvit vs. James Walker*, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, Civil Case Papers of Harris County District Courts (MSS. in District Clerk's office, Houston, Texas), file 1844.

²⁹Answer of John W. Cloud in *William R. Smith vs. John W. Cloud*, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 944.

³⁰Estevan F. Austin á S[e]ñor. Com[an]d[an]te. de la guardia en la embocadura de los Brazos, Brazoria, 29 de diciembre de 1831, in Paul R. and Guy Cloud Stalnaker Collection (MSS. in San Jacinto Museum of History, San Jacinto Monument, Texas). I am indebted to Miss Wilma Mosholder, librarian of the Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico, in San German, for translating into English this letter and the certificate cited in footnote 53, below.

³¹In Texas, a league is 4428.4 acres and a labor 177.14 acres. Under the laws of the State of Coahuila and Texas, and the Republic of Texas, a married person who removed to Texas before Mar. 2, 1836, was entitled to receive a league and a labor as a headright. Cloud received a certificate for this amount of land on Mar. 1, 1838, but at the time of his death the certificate remained unlocated. Land Certificates of Brazoria County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), A, 110 (No. 402). Subsequently, the certificate was located in Brazoria County. Brazoria 1st Class (MSS. in General Land Office, Austin), file 64.

³²Answers of Levi Pitts to interrogatories, Oct. 30, 1841, in *Thomas J. Allcorn vs. John W. Cloud*, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 751.

the purchase price.³³ Two days later, William and Hetty Stiles executed to Cloud a bond for title to the quarter league tract. They agreed to deliver title on or before September 1, 1831, and to indemnify Cloud in the sum of \$1000 plus \$12.50 per acre for improvements if they should fail to make a good title.³⁴ Some aspect of the transaction was unsatisfactory—probably Pitts failed to pay his share of the notes—for in 1835, Stiles sued first the two of them and later Pitts alone.³⁵

Cloud may have begun to clear his half of the land, for on June 15, 1831, he hired a yoke of oxen from James Tumlinson.³⁶ It is not apparent, however, that Cloud actually settled on the tract. Certainly in the autumn of 1831 he was living in Brazoria, for in November his wife was there delivered of a third child, and in a letter written in December, a lay visitor to Texas described a visit with Mrs. Cloud:

Brazoria has, already, some families of education and refinement. In one of my visiting excursions, I called on Mrs. [John Wurts Cloud]³⁷ who was, I found, from my native state, (Connecticut,) a circumstance sufficient to place us, at once, on the most sociable footing. The family had not been here long, and their *cabin* was not yet built. They occupied a temporary shed among the trees, or *camp*, as they call it here, not impervious to the light, though there was no window. A white curtain supplied the place of door. The single apartment contained three or four beds, as white as snow. Books, glass, china, and other furniture in polite usage, were arranged in perfect neatness about the room, as best suited the present exigence. It was Sunday evening, Mrs. [Cloud] was seated in a white cambric wrapper and tasteful cap. The children round the door, and the servants [*i. e.* slaves] were at their several

³³Obadiah Pitts to John W. Cloud, Brazoria, May 11, 1831, in Thomas J. Allcorn, administrator of Elijah Caples, vs. John W. Cloud, *ibid.*, file 171.

³⁴William and Hetty Stiles to John Wurts [sic] Cloud, May 13, 1831, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), B, 296-297.

³⁵William Stiles vs. J. W. Cloud and O. Pitts, and William Stiles vs. O. Pitts in *Inventory of the Colonial Archives of Texas, 1821-1837, No. 3, Municipality of Brazoria, 1832-1837* (San Antonio: Historical Records Survey, 1837), 72, citing a General Docket of All the Suits Instituted before the Primary Court of Jurisdiction of Columbia since its Organization, 1835 (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), 56, 81, 82. This tract of land lies southwest of the present hamlet of Anchor, and is about six miles up river from the present Brazos crossing of state highway 35.

³⁶James Tumlinson vs. John W. Cloud, judgment by Asa Brigham, *comisario*, Feb. 6, 1832. Louis J. Wilson to DuBose Murphy, Nov. 18, 1836, in Adam Cloud, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), file 97, citing, apparently, Docket for the Precinct of Victoria, Municipality of Austin, 1832-1833 (MS. in District Clerk's office, Angleton), 5. See *Inventory of the Colonial Archives of Texas*, 38.

³⁷Blank in published letter. The clues to the identity of the unnamed woman appear in the last two sentences of the quotation.

occupations, or sitting at leisure about the temporary fire-place without. The whole scene was an exhibition of peace and happiness. I gazed upon it with emotions of admiration and delight. I have seldom seen a more striking domestic group, or enjoyed a conversation of more genuine good sense, than during the hour of my visit. The prospects of a new country and the retrospect of the old, were of course the absorbing topics of our discourse, as they are unfailing themes of conversation among all classes in Brazoria, all uniting to extol the advantages of these fair regions of the sun, over the frozen climates of the north. Mr. [Cloud] is an alumnus of Yale College. Stimulated by the love of occupation and the desire of doing good, he is about to open a school in which the higher branches of education will be taught; the first school in Brazoria.³⁸

At this time, Brazoria was three years old, having been laid out in 1828 by John Austin, agent for Stephen F. Austin.³⁹ There appears to be no conveyances to Cloud of any land in the town of Brazoria, but he later owned several tracts there that he probably acquired at this time. It is likely that his residence was located on outlets 4 and 8.⁴⁰

As Mrs. Holley's letter shows, Cloud had thought of opening a school in Brazoria as early as the autumn of 1831. It was not until the following year, though, that he actually opened it.⁴¹ If Cloud used the words quarter and session interchangeably, as he appears to have

³⁸Mattie Austin Hatcher, *Letters of an Early American Traveller, Mary Austin Holley, her life and her Works, 1784-1846* (Dallas: Southwest Press, c1933), 117-118. Mrs. Holley was a cousin of Stephen F. Austin and the widow of Horace Holley, president of Transylvania University.

³⁹A photostat of the original plat appears in "History of Brazoria County" (MS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton). For John Austin's agency, see James F. Perry, executor of Stephen F. Austin, to Samuel H. Harden, F.M.C., May 29, 1838, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, C, 176-177.

⁴⁰In 1837, Cloud owned four lots in the town; in 1839, he sold outlets 4 and 8, for which he had a title from John Austin, together with buildings; and in 1841 he owned lot 61. Tax Rolls (MSS. in office of Comptroller of Public Accounts, Austin), Brazoria County, 1837; John Wurts Cloud to John Brown, Apr. 20, 1839, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, C, 310-311; appraisals, July 6, 1841, and March 1 and June 7, 1842, in Edwin Waller and Thomas G. Masterston, late merchants and partners trading under style of Waller and Masterston, vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 526; and appraisals, Dec. 6, 1842, in Sarah Ann Wharton, executrix of William H. Wharton, deceased, vs. John Wurts Cloud and Edwin Waller, *ibid.*, file 546.

⁴¹"In 1832, Mr. J. W. Cloud established a seminary at Brazoria." Brown, *History of Texas*, II, 506. See also, Ben C. Stuart, "Old Time Schools," in *Galveston Daily News*, Apr. 7, 1907, p. 20, col. 1; Adele Lubbock Looscan, "The Women of Pioneer Days in Texas—Life during the Period of the Colonies, the Revolution, and the Republic," in Dudley G. Wooten (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of Texas, 1685 to 1897* (Dallas: Published by William G. Scarff, 1898), I, 655; Frederick Eby (comp.), *Education in Texas, Source Materials*, University of Texas Bulletin 1824, Educational Series 2 (Apr., 1918), 129.

done, then it must have been about the middle of March, 1832, that he began instruction. The earliest details of the school are contained in an announcement of the second session:

EDUCATION.

THE second session of the Brazoria Seminary will commence on Monday next, 11th inst. Children of both sexes will be admitted as pupils. The public are assured that the school will be permanent. The lot of ground has been appropriated by the generous liberality of a gentleman for that purpose; a commodious house has been erected; and the *devotedness* of the instructor has in no wise abated. The difficulties attendant on an infant institution, in a new country, has [*sic*] passed in review before him ere he commenced. Thus far he is not discouraged. The claims which an object so noble, has on the community, are so strong, that he cannot, for one moment, persuade himself to believe that they will be overlooked and disregarded.

Of his qualifications as a scholar, the instructor would gladly have been silent; circumstances, however, seem to demand that he should say something for himself; and this he deems sufficient—that he is an Alumnus of Yale College.

Terms and courses of studies:—Orthography, Reading, Writing, Vulgar Arithmetic, Vulgar Geography, and English Grammar will be taught at \$6 per quarter;—English Classical Literature, Latin, and Greek;—Algebra, Elements of Euclid, Logarithms, Trigonometry, Mensuration of superficies and solids, Surveying, Navigation, &c.; Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, with composition of Thesis, at \$9 per quarter; each payable quarterly in advance. No pupil will be entered for a shorter term than one quarter; but should its attendance be prevented by sickness, the month on which it entered alone shall be lost to it. Any time lost by the instructor shall be made up, or accounted for.

J. W. CLOUD.

Brazoria, June 9, 1832.⁴²

From this advertisement one infers that the first quarter of the school had been beset by numerous difficulties. The school no doubt reopened on June 11 as planned, but very shortly afterwards it was interrupted by political developments.

In the winter of 1831-1832, the Texan colonists had been annoyed by two petty Mexican officials. The first, a Yugoslav who went under

⁴²*Constitutional Advocate and Texas Public Advertiser* (Brazoria), Sept. 5, 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

the name of George Fisher, was administrator, *i.e.* collector of customs, of the port of Galveston who had issued a proclamation requiring the master of a ship to go overland to Anahuac, some hundred miles away, before the vessel could clear the Brazos River. The second was Col. John Davis Bradburn, a Kentuckian, commandant of the Mexican forces at the same place, whom the colonists charged with pressing supplies and slaves into official use without compensation, encouraging revolt among the slaves, and, finally, arbitrarily jailing a number of men, including some attorneys from the Brazos River. On June 4, an armed force left Brazoria to release the attorneys from the Anahuac *calabozo*, and when Bradburn defied them, they sent for two small cannon at Brazoria. The Mexican officer in command of a small force at Velasco at the mouth of the Brazos River refused to permit the clearance of the boat carrying the Brazoria cannon to Anahuac.⁴³

A public meeting was then held at Brazoria to deliberate upon the developments that had taken place. The chairman, William H. Wharton, recommended that the people "swoop down once upon Velasco and storm and capture the fort and garrison, and so rid the section of Mexican authority." He appointed a committee of five, one of them Cloud, to deliberate upon this proposal. On the first ballot, Cloud and two others were opposed to the movement. The two committeemen favoring the proposal, however, converted Cloud to their position, and so the committee had a majority in favor of the attack upon Velasco. A force of about 120 men, under the command of John Austin and John Henry Brown,⁴⁴ organized at Brazoria on June 20 "to hold themselves in readiness to march to any point—on the shortest warning—to obey, implicitly, the commands of their officers, and to do everything in their power, to promote the harmony, good order, and success of Austins Colony and the State." Cloud was one of the men who joined what was called the Texas Volunteers, and he answered to the muster at the mouth of the Brazos on June 25.⁴⁵ On the following day, this group attacked the forces of Col. Domingo de Ugartechea. During this engagement, known as the Battle of Velasco, Cloud served in the second division under the command of 3rd Lieutenant Henry Smith. Consider-

⁴³Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836, a Chapter in the Westward Movement of the Anglo-American People* (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1949), 327-334.

⁴⁴Pearson, "Reminiscences of Judge Edwin Waller," in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, IV, 36.

⁴⁵Charles Adams Gulick, Jr. and others (eds.), *The Papers of Mirabeau Bona parte Lamar* (Austin: Texas State Library and Historical Commission, n.d.), I, 96-97, 102-103. See also, Edna Rowe, "The Disturbances at Anahuac," in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, IV, 36.

able loss was suffered by both sides, and on the 29th Ugartechea capitulated and agreed to remove the Mexican soldiers to Matamoros. By this time, Cloud had become commander of the third of five divisions, but he apparently had nothing more to do than to march his men back to Brazoria.⁴⁶

The men who had participated in the attack obviously felt ill at ease in having taken up arms against the legitimate authority. Fortunately, a liberal revolt in Mexico led by Antonio López de Santa Anna against President Anastacio Bustamente had been successful, so the colonists extricated themselves from their delicate position by asserting that their disturbance was a part of the liberal uprising against reaction. At Brazoria, on July 22, a public dinner was held in honor of Santa Anna, and here Cloud offered one of the toasts:

The simplicity of Republican principles—May they prevail in our own government. No establishment political, or ecclesiastical that secure a monopoly.⁴⁷

These sentiments suggest that Cloud was a Jacksonian Democrat, and the reference to ecclesiastical monopoly referred probably not only to the established Roman Catholicism of Mexico but also to the established Congregationalism of Connecticut during his youth there.

Because of the disturbances, he had been obliged to close his school, which by then had a reputation for being a good one.⁴⁸ Early in September, though, he announced that the second quarter of the Brazoria Seminary would recommence on Monday the 10th.⁴⁹ Unquestionably it did, but there is no evidence as to how long it survived. Probably it closed permanently in 1833, when the Brazos River community was severely damaged by a flood and decimated by an epidemic of cholera.⁵⁰

Mexican law did not permit much opportunity for civic activity among the Texan colonists, but they, accustomed to mind their own affairs, had continued to mind them in Texas, grafting on the body politic of Mexico their own usages and legal procedures. On September 8, 1832, in the *comisario* court, Cloud served as a juror, an office Mexican jurisprudence did not recognize, in a criminal suit against William

⁴⁶Gulick and others (eds.), *Lamar Papers*, I, 105-107, 111-112; Barker, *Stephen F. Austin*, 333-334; Brown, *History of Texas*, I, 186n.

⁴⁷*Texas Gazette and Brazoria Commercial Advocate*, July 23, 1832, p. 2, col. 5.

⁴⁸[James Franklin Perry] to Isreal [sic] McGready, Oak Grove, July 12, 1832, in Unpublished Austin Papers (MSS. in Archives, University of Texas Library, Austin).

⁴⁹*Constitutional Advocate and Texas Public Advertiser*, Sept. 5, 1832, p. 3, col. 4.

⁵⁰Barker, *Stephen F. Austin*, 395.

Cephas, a free Negro. The jury found him guilty and ordered him to make restitution in the sum of the theft to the person from whom he had been convicted of stealing, together with costs, or be sold into slavery to raise the sum.⁵¹

Upon his first arrival in Texas, Cloud had arranged with Stephen F. Austin, *empresario* of the colony, for his father and family to immigrate⁵² and on September 18, 1831, Austin certified that Adam Cloud had three months in which to move to the colony.⁵³ In December, however, Adam had still not arrived, although he was said to have been expected by the first boat from New Orleans.⁵⁴ As a matter of fact, it was not until April, 1833, that Adam without his wife arrived, and not until February, 1834, that his nine slaves followed.⁵⁵ Mary Cloud had joined her husband in a deed in January, 1833,⁵⁶ and apparently she was prepared to follow him, but was never to see Texas. She died in Mississippi on June 20, 1833.⁵⁷

Two days before the battle of Velasco, Cloud's youngest child, Susan Johnston, died. A year later, in June, 1833, during the cholera epidemic, his wife followed her to the grave.⁵⁸ His father, who was seventy-three when he came to Texas, did not long survive the removal. During his few months in Texas, however, before he took to his death bed with chills and fevers, he managed John's farm on Oyster Creek.⁵⁹ On May 24, 1834, he executed a deed giving eight slaves, or bonded servants for life, as they were euphemistically called by Anglo-Americans in Texas to avoid the Mexican prohibition against slavery, to his grand-

⁵¹*Inventory of the Colonial Archives of Texas*, 35, citing Docket for the Precinct of Victoria, Municipality of Austin, 1832-1835. In 1838, Cloud was summoned as a venireman, but he did not appear. Civil Minutes of the County Court of Brazoria County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), A, 63, 66.

⁵²Austin á Señor Comandante de la guardia, Brazoria, 29 de diciembre de 1831, in Stalnaker Collection.

⁵³Certificado de Esteven F. Austin, Villa de [San Felipe de] Austin, 18 de septiembre de 1831, *ibid.*

⁵⁴Austin á Señor Comandante de la guardia, *ibid.*

⁵⁵Petition of John W. Cloud, subscribed June 28, 1847, in John W. Cloud vs. State of Texas, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 1331; answers of Elisha Maxey to interrogatories, Nov. 29, 1848, in F. J. Calvit vs. James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, Civil Case Papers of Harris County District Courts, file 1844.

⁵⁶Adam and Mary Cloud to Thomas and Osborne Scott, Jan. 9, 1833, in Deed Records of Jefferson County, Mississippi, B, 636.

⁵⁷Raymond Houston Wilson, *The Cloud Family* (mimeographed; Houston, 1953), addenda to second section, b.

⁵⁸Photostat of family record from John Wurts Cloud's Bible.

⁵⁹Answers of Elisha Maxey, Nov. 29, 1848, in F. J. Calvit vs. James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, Civil Case Papers of Harris County District Courts, file 1844.

son Adam Erastus,⁶⁰ and two days later he died at the age of seventy-four.⁶¹ His remains were buried in the public cemetery in Brazoria,⁶² probably near the graves of his daughter-in-law and granddaughter.

Texan Revolution

Political conditions in Texas had steadily disintegrated in the meantime. In January, 1834, Stephen F. Austin had been arrested in Saltillo and conveyed to prison in Mexico City, and in the following July, Saltillo and Monclova were at loggerheads as to which city was the capital and who was the governor of the state. Two of the Texan deputies to the state legislature, joined by the Texan superior judge, issued an address to Texans recommending a convention to be held in Bexar (San Antonio) to organize a provisional state government for Texas, or to decide what other steps might be taken. Henry Smith, political chief of the Department of Brazos, in which Brazoria was located, was strongly in favor of setting up a separate state government for Texas, but the central committee that had been created two years previously, opposed Smith's plans. Smith ordered an election to be held on November 8 to decide whether delegates should be sent to a provisional congress at Bexar a week later.⁶³ At the election in the town of Brazoria, fifty-seven voted against representation and sixteen in favor. Cloud was one of the majority.⁶⁴ No provisional congress was held. Cloud's initial disapproval of any colonial attack against Mexican authority suggests that he belonged to what was called the peace party, and since he probably was a friend of Stephen F. Austin, he would have tended toward opposition to any fire-eating measures. In Decem-

⁶⁰The original, filed Dec. 5, 1851, is in James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, vs. Frederick J. Calvit, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 1425, and it is recorded in Deed Records of Harris County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Houston), O, 18.

⁶¹Petition of John Wurts Cloud, Mar. 21, 1837, in Adam Cloud, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 97. See also, answers of Elisha Maxey to interrogatories and cross-interrogatories, Nov. 29, 1848, in F. J. Calvit vs. James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, Civil Case Papers of Harris County District Courts, file 1844.

⁶²John G. Jones, *A Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest* (St. Louis: P. M. Pinckard, 1866), 97. In error, it has been said that Adam Cloud was buried near Greenville, Mississippi. See Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi: the Heart of the South* (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1925), II, 751. Mrs. Cloud may be buried near Greenville.

⁶³Barker, *Stephen P. Austin*, 350-351, 375, 401-402.

⁶⁴Eugene C. Barker, (ed.), *The Austin Papers* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1933), III, 23-25; S. M. Williams Papers (MSS. in Rosenberg Library, Galveston).

ber, 1832, he, together with his future brother-in-law, Asa Brigham, had witnessed the final and conclusive partition between Austin and the heirs of James E. Hawkins, deceased, of New Orleans, who had been a partner in Austin's first *empresario* contract with the Mexican government.⁶⁵

Little of Cloud's activities in 1834 is known. In March, he served as an arbitrator in the alcalde's court in the civil action of E. Jeffrey vs. D. W. Anthony, T. F. L. Parrott, and E. St. John Hawkins. He and his colleagues found for the defendants.⁶⁶ In December, he offered a five dollar reward for proof with which to convict a person or persons who had stolen the rails off his fence in the precinct of Brazoria.⁶⁷ In the spring of 1835, he seems to have visited the United States, probably to take his two motherless children to relatives, for on May 9, he advertised that during his absence in "the United States of the North," Robert Mills was to act as his agent.⁶⁸ He was back in Brazoria in mid-summer. In January, the Mexican government had reestablished a customs house at Anahuac, and as a result of a practical joke that an Anahuac merchant and a lad had played on the Mexican authorities there, the two of them had been thrown in jail. Again a force left the Brazos River bottoms, this time from San Felipe, for Anahuac, and on June 29 the Mexican force there surrendered. On August 9, a petition containing ninety-four names, one of them Cloud's, circulated in Brazoria urging a convention as the means "best calculated to quiet the present excitement" in Texas.⁶⁹

On September 1, Austin, having been released from prison, arrived at Velasco. Three days later, Cloud joined with three of his neighbors and invited him to partake of a public dinner at Fitchett & Gill's tavern in Brazoria on the 8th.⁷⁰ At this meeting, Austin spoke unequivocally in favor of a consultation to oppose Santa Anna's subversion of the federal Mexican republic into a centralized government,⁷¹ and this time there were no toasts to Santa Anna as champion of liberal government as there had been three years previously. The Texan Revo-

⁶⁵Stephen F. Austin to Edmund H. Martin, Edmund Saint John Hawkins, and W. H. Wharton, curator for George and Edward Hawkins, Dec. 16, 1832, in *Deed Records of Brazoria County, A*, 86-89.

⁶⁶*Inventory of the Colonial Archives of Texas*, 40, citing Docket, Jurisdiction of Brazoria, 1834-1835 (MS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), file 11.

⁶⁷*Texas Republican* (Brazoria), Dec. 13, 1834, p. 2, col. 3.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, May 5, 1835, p. 3, col. 1.

⁶⁹Barker (ed.), *Austin Papers*, III, 99; Gulick and others (eds.), *Lamar Papers*, I, 222-223; *Texas State Gazette* (Austin), II (Nov. 16, 1850), p. 102, col. 1.

⁷⁰Barker (ed.), *Austin Papers*, III, 112.

⁷¹Barker, *Stephen F. Austin*, 411-412.

lution had begun in earnest, and it was to continue with unabated activity until the destruction of the Mexican army and the capture of General Santa Anna at the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836. In this conflict, Cloud did not participate until July 3, 1836, when he entered the army and remained, probably at the Texan camp on the Navidad River, until his discharge on October 10.⁷²

With the establishment of the Republic of Texas, political opportunities multiplied, and Cloud became more politically active. On February 20, the board of commissioners of roads and revenue of Brazoria County appointed him one of five overseers of roads in the fourth captain's precinct in which he lived.⁷³ Also, he held several appointments from the probate court. In June, 1837, he was appointed undertutor of a minor, George W. Hamilton, and though he accepted the office, he appears not to have acted, for his name does not appear in the accounts submitted by the guardian, although several payments were made to others for board and tuition.⁷⁴ In April, 1838, he was appointed one of three commissioners to partition the estate of Obadiah Pitts, deceased, but the partition was made by his two colleagues only.⁷⁵ In October, 1838, he was appointed administrator of Isaac Hughson, deceased, and if he acted at all he did no more than apply for the land due Hughson.⁷⁶

As administrator of his father's estate, appointed April 14, 1837, Cloud obtained from the county board of land commissioners, on March 1, 1838, a certificate for a league and a labor^{76-a} due Adam Cloud for having immigrated to Texas before the Declaration of Independence. He placed the certificate in the hands of the county surveyor, who laid off on unappropriated public domain in the county twenty-three labors and designated the remainder. Before title to the land could pass, however, a board of travelling commissioners appointed by Congress held the certificate to be invalid.⁷⁷ Cloud intimated that he intended to

⁷²Certificate 8066 for 320 acres, issued Houston, Mar. 4, 1839, by A. Sidney Johnston, secretary of war, in Brazoria County (MSS. in General Land Office, Austin), file 1.

⁷³*Telegraph and Texas Register* (Columbia), Mar. 14, 1837, p. 2, col. 2.

⁷⁴Josiah F. and Frances R. Hamilton, deceased, and George W. Hamilton, minor, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 202; Probate Minutes of Brazoria County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), A, 82.

⁷⁵Obadiah Pitts, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 379; Will etc. Records of Brazoria County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), A, 157-161; Probate Minutes of Brazoria County, B, 17.

⁷⁶Isaac Hughson, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 253; Probate Minutes of Brazoria County, B, 72.

^{76-a}See above, Note #31, for amount of land included in "a league and a labor."

⁷⁷The certificate was not listed, and so not recommended, in Records of Boards of Travelling Land Commissioners (MSS. in General Land Office, Austin), I, 84.

petition Congress for relief, which apparently he never did, and failing that to apply to the district court. It was not until 1847 that he filed suit against the State of Texas, and a jury found in his favor; whereupon the commissioner of the General Land Office issued him a certificate for a league and a labor. At the time of his death, however, the certificate still had not been located.⁷⁸

Also in the spring of 1837, Cloud was appointed, together with the widow, administrator of Elisha Mather, deceased.⁷⁹ This connection with the Mather household was to lead to his second marriage. Mather, who had had a plantation on Chocolate Bayou and an interest in the Harrisburg Steam Sawmill,⁸⁰ had moved to Texas from Greenville, Mississippi, in March, 1834.⁸¹ In his household was his wife's sister, Rebecca Johnston, daughter of Andrew Johnston and Margaret Guy, who had been born in Portage, Ohio, January 21, 1811.⁸² During the Mexican invasion of Texas in the spring of 1836, Mather, before going into the army, had taken his wife and sister-in-law to the residence of James H. Spillman, on Buffalo Bayou, near New Washington or Morgans Point.⁸³ When the Texan government evacuated Harrisburg and moved to Galveston Island in April, those at Morgans Point went along.⁸⁴ Rebecca and her sister were on the island on April 21, and it is said they heard the cannonading that they later learned to have been at the Battle of San Jacinto. Four days after the battle, General Sam Houston remembered to inform the government of the victory over the Mexicans, and it is said that upon receipt of the news Mrs. Mather, Rebecca, and others went by barge to the battlegrounds where they met

⁷⁸Adam Cloud, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 97; Land Certificates of Brazoria County, A, 111 (No. 403); John W. Cloud vs. State of Texas, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 1331; Travis 1st Class (MSS. in General Land Office, Austin), file 245. Adam Cloud's head-right was eventually located in what is now Mills County.

⁷⁹Elisha Mather, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 348; Probate Minutes of Brazoria County, A, 42; B, 56, 69, 112; D, 130; Land Certificates of Brazoria County, A, 111 (No. 404); *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston), June 8, 1837, p. 3, col. 3.

⁸⁰James Cockrane vs. John W. Cloud and Nancy Mather, wife of Asa Brigham, administrator and administratrix, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 542.

⁸¹Testimony of Ann Brigham, Dec. 4, 1848, in *F. J. Calvit vs. James Walker*, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, Civil Case Papers of Harris County District Courts, file 1844.

⁸²Wilson, *The Cloud Family*, 9.

⁸³Andrew M. Clopper to Nicholas Clopper, Highland Cottage, Mar. 10, 1836, in Edward Nicholas Clopper, *An American Family* . . . (n.p., no pub., 1950), 263.

⁸⁴Clopper to Joseph C. Clopper, Highland Cottage, Oct. 18, 1836, *ibid.*, 268.

Houston.⁸⁵ After the revolution, they returned to their home on Chocolate Bayou.

At the end of January, 1837, Mather went to Morgans Point to obtain provisions. On his way home, one of his oxen died, whereupon he tied the other to a tree, and with his saddlebags over his shoulder set out on foot. He never reached home, and later the saddlebags were found on the banks of Willow Bayou. This stream was swollen, and as Mather could not swim, it was suspected that he had been drowned in crossing.⁸⁶

After Mather's death, Mrs. Mather and Rebecca appear to have returned to live at Colonel Morgan's home, Orange Grove, at Morgans Point. Cloud's association with the family, as a result of the administration on Mather's estate and of having known them in Mississippi,⁸⁷ led to his marriage with Rebecca Johnston. On October 23, 1837, he purchased a license, and on November 1, they were married at Orange Grove by the Rev. Richard Salmon, the only active Episcopal priest in Texas, whom Cloud probably had known in western New York as well as in Brazoria County.⁸⁸

To his second marriage were born nine children:

WILLIAM JOHNSTON, Brazoria County, July 13, 1838.

JOHN WURTS

SAMUEL GRANDIN

JOHN WURTS, Austin, October 11, 1841.

ANNA BRIGHAM, Brazoria County, September 24, 1843.

ADELIN HULL, Brazoria County, January 17, 1845.

JAMES RAYMOND, Harrisburg, May 26, 1846.

SAMUEL GRANDIN, Austin County, January 3, 1848.

MARGARET REBECCA, Washington County, April 21, 1851.

⁸⁵"Autobiography, John Wirt [sic] Cloud [Jr.]" (MS. in possession of Miss Myrtle Cloud, Austin; typescript in writer's possession); Wilson, *The Cloud Family*, 9.

⁸⁶Clopper to Nicholas Clopper, Highland Cottage, Mar. 1, 1837, in Clopper, *An American Family*, 273. For claims that Mather had been made away with by Indians (actually there had been no wild Indians in that part of Texas for some fifteen years) and had frozen to death, see "Autobiography, John Wirt Cloud," 3, and Wilson, *The Cloud Family*, 9.

⁸⁷Mrs. Mather certainly knew Adam and John W. Cloud in Greenville in 1830 or 1831. Answers of Ann Walker to interrogatories, Mar. 28, 1850, in James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, vs. Clement N. Bassett and Joseph A. Harris, Civil Case Papers of Harris County District Courts, file 1850; testimony, Dec. 4, 1848, in F. J. Calvit vs. James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, *ibid.*, file 1844.

⁸⁸Marriage Records of Harris County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Houston), A, 18; *Telegraph and Texas Register*, Nov. 11, 1837, p. 3, col. 2.

All of the children except the twins, who died August 30 and July 24, 1840, respectively, reached maturity,⁸⁹ a remarkable record in the mid-nineteenth century.

The baptismal records of some of them are extant, and it is probable that all were baptized, but Cloud himself never performed the office; the children were always baptized by other clergymen—Episcopal, when they were available, and Roman Catholic, when they were not. Rebecca's firstborn son, William Johnston, was baptized by the Right Rev. Leonidas Polk, missionary bishop of Arkansas and the Southwest, at Bonaventure on May 19, 1839.⁹⁰ Anna Brigham was baptized by the Rev. Charles Gillett, rector of Christ Church, Houston, on June 18, 1845, with the parents and Mrs. E. Reily, niece of Henry Clay, as god-parents.⁹¹ And three of his children—John Wurts, Adeline Hull, and James Raymond—together with a slave belonging to Mary Elizabeth, were baptized by a Roman Catholic priest, John Joseph Lynch, C.M., of St. Vincent's Church, Houston, on March 17, 1847.⁹² Cloud's second wife, curiously enough, was not baptized until after his death.⁹³

Planter

After his marriage, Cloud took up residence, if he had not done so before, on the land he had purchased from Stiles. Following the joint purchase with Cloud, Obadiah Pitts had cultivated his half of the tract until 1833, when he had sold it to Elijah Caples.⁹⁴ In 1832, Cloud and his first wife had given \$500 bond to Pitts to deliver title on or after May, 1833, when Pitts' last payment was due,⁹⁵ and after the sale Cloud bound himself to make title to Caples.⁹⁶ Caples took possession and cultivated the land until his death, about May 1, 1837, although some

⁸⁹Photostat of family record from John Wurts Cloud's Bible.

⁹⁰*General Convention Journal*, 1841, p. 161; Walter Herbert Stowe, "Polk's Missionary Episcopate," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, VII (Dec., 1938), 352; DuBose Murphy, *A Short History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas* (Dallas: Turner Co., c1935), 9, 289.

⁹¹Register of Christ Church, Houston (MS. in Christ Church Cathedral office, Houston; photostat in Houston Public Library).

⁹²Liber Batizatorum in Ecclesia Sti Vincenti a Paolo in Presidio Houston, Texas (MS. in office of Annunciation Roman Catholic Church, Houston), 28-29 (Nos. 158-161). Courtesy of the Very Rev. Anton Frank, permanent pastor.

⁹³Baptismal certificate, June 5, 1852, the Rev. L. P. Rucker, rector of St. Luke's Church, Chappell Hill. Photostat in Mr. Wilson's possession.

⁹⁴Supplemental petition, Thomas J. Allcorn vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 751.

⁹⁵John W. and Sarah Cloud to Obadiah Pitts, Aug. 3, 1832, *ibid.*

⁹⁶John W. Cloud to Elijah Caples, May 8, 1833, *ibid.*

six weeks earlier he had sold it to William B. Sweeny. After Caples' death, Cloud entered upon the land and held it by adverse possession, until 1848, when Sweeny's assignee recovered it.⁹⁷

Cloud established on the northern quarter of the John Bradley survey a cotton plantation that he called Bonaventure.⁹⁸ On the bank of the Brazos River, he built a landing at which steamboats could stop, whenever their masters risked the dangers of the shallow, meandering stream and were willing to pay the exorbitant insurance rates.⁹⁹ Cloud, like his neighbors, worked his plantation with Negro slaves. In 1837, he had fourteen of them, eight females and six males, most of them, probably, the slaves that had been given to his son by his father and their issue.¹⁰⁰ In 1838 there were sixteen,¹⁰¹ and in 1841 eighteen, of whom seven were children and two old folks.¹⁰²

Cloud's plantation was a small one, according to the scanty records that are available. Of the 1840 cotton crop, there is a record of twenty-eight bales, which brought \$1166.79 net in New Orleans, and of the 1841 crop, twenty-two bales.¹⁰³ Despite this small output, Cloud nevertheless employed an overseer. In 1838-1839, the overseer was Joseph M. Trimble. When he sued Cloud for delinquent promissory notes given in payment for his services, Cloud charged that while Trimble was in charge of the plantation, waste and destruction had occurred.¹⁰⁴ In 1841-1842, the overseer was Elisha Maxey, a neighbor. Although it was later said that Cloud spoke "always as though he was perfectly satisfied" with Maxey as overseer,¹⁰⁵ Cloud himself complained that Maxey had absented himself for three weeks; spent a considerable

⁹⁷Judgment, *ibid.*

⁹⁸This name was used as early as 1837 and as late as 1844. See J. W. Cloud to Thomas J. Allcorn, Bonaventure, Dec. 15, 1837, in Adam Cloud, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 97 (this letter is referred to in Allcorn, Administrator, etc. v. Sweeny, in Dallam 494-495) and bill of sale of Cloud to Ann Brigham, Oct. 16, 1844, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, C, 106-107, and Deed Records of Harris County, J, 126-128.

⁹⁹Cloud's account with Smith & Adriance, of Brazoria, Apr. 30, 1840—Dec. 31, 1842, in Morgan L. Smith and John Adriance, merchants trading under style of Smith & Adriance, vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 904.

¹⁰⁰Tax Rolls, Brazoria County, 1837, p. 6.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 1838, p. 12.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 1841.

¹⁰³Cloud's account with Smith & Adriance in Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 904. Cloud stated that during 1840-1842, Smith & Adriance handled fifty-six bales of his cotton. Answer, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴Answer, filed Sept. 23, 1843, in Joseph M. Trimble vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 898.

¹⁰⁵Answers of Henry Wilcox to interrogatories, Apr. 15, 1847, in Elisha Maxey vs. John W. Cloud, *ibid.*, file 918.

amount of his own time, that of Cloud himself as well as Cloud's slaves, oxen, and horses herding his own cattle, and during Cloud's absence conducted disorderly gambling parties at Bonaventure, at which the owner's provisions were consumed.¹⁰⁶ To climax his service, on or about October 15, 1842, Maxey had a "difficulty" with Mrs. Cloud's brother, William Henry Harrison Johnston, in which the overseer shot and killed Johnston.¹⁰⁷ One witness reported that after Maxey's release by the authorities, to whom he had surrendered himself following the shooting, Cloud had refused to permit his return to the plantation because his "family would think that Mr Maxey had killed Mr Johnston & it would be unpleasant for them to have Mr. Maxey" on the premises.¹⁰⁸

In addition to his plantation, Cloud also maintained a stock farm on Halls Bayou. This was located on 320 acres of land that he had received from the Republic as a bounty for his military service during the revolution. Since he had taught surveying in his seminary, it is interesting to note that when this tract of land was surveyed, he himself acted as one of the chain bearers.¹⁰⁹ His herd of cattle, seemingly, was not large, but he used two brands, "Diamond C" (a "C" within a diamond) and BV (derived no doubt from Bonaventure).¹¹⁰ He also owned a small number of horses, oxen, mules, and hogs.¹¹¹

Politician

Not long after his marriage, Cloud became more active in public affairs. Sometime in 1838, apparently, he was elected justice of the peace of the fourth militia district of Brazoria County. Certainly he was acting in this capacity on August 1, 1838, when he married a

¹⁰⁶Answer, undated, *ibid.*, statement, Maxey to Cloud, 1842, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷Answers of Henry Wilcox to cross-interrogatories, Apr. 15, 1847, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸Answers of W. K. Huey to interrogatories, Mar. 20, 1844, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹Field notes, Oct. 26, 1839, in Brazoria County, file 1.

¹¹⁰John W. Cloud to Ann Brigham, Oct. 16, 1844, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, C, 106-107, and Deed Records of Harris County, J, 126-128; John W. Cloud to Ann and Asa Brigham, Feb. 20, 1844, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, B, 383-385; advertisement of sheriff, Sept. 18, 1846, in Morgan L. Smith and John Adriance, merchants trading under style of Smith & Adriance, vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 904. These brands are not recorded in Records of Marks & Brands, Brazoria County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton).

¹¹¹Cloud to Brigham, Oct. 16, 1844, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, C, 106-107, and Deed Records of Harris County, J, 126-128; Cloud to Brigham, Mar. 17, 1845, *ibid.*, J, 252-253; Cloud to Brigham, Feb. 20, 1844, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, B, 383-385.

couple,¹¹² although the first official record of his election to the office is dated February 4, 1839,¹¹³ and he was reelected on February 1, 1841.¹¹⁴ While serving in this capacity he was commonly referred to as judge.¹¹⁵ At this time in Texas, the county administrative board, the board of commissioners of roads and revenue, was made up of all the justices of the peace. Cloud, therefore, was a member of this board, but since its minutes have not survived, there is no record of his activities there. Each year the board elected two of its number as associate justices of the county to assist the chief justice in the conduct of the county court, the probate court, and the board of land commissioners. Cloud served as associate justice throughout the years 1839-1842. In September, 1841, Chief Justice William P. Scott died,¹¹⁶ and until his successor was qualified in the following February,¹¹⁷ Cloud and his fellow associate justice presided either jointly or singly over the two courts. He was not, however, regular in his attendance, for in four years he was present at the county court but nine times,¹¹⁸ and at the probate court but fifteen times,¹¹⁹ at one of whose sittings he presided alone,¹²⁰ and there is no record that he was ever present at the meetings of the board of land commissioners.¹²¹ Seemingly, his term of office as justice of the peace and associate justice terminated shortly after the beginning of 1843.¹²²

Cloud took one other fling at politics, at which he was wholly unsuccessful. At an election held September 2, 1839, he stood for one of

¹¹²Thomas S. Hinds with Mary Bailey, Marriage Records of Brazoria County (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), unnumbered volume, 163-164. For an estray adjudged by Cloud, see *Telegraph and Texas Register*, Oct. 13, 1838, p. 3, col. 2.

¹¹³Election Register, 1836-1842 (MS. in Archives, Texas State Library, Austin), 97; certificate of W. P. Scott, chief justice of Brazoria County, Feb. 22, 1839, in Local Election Returns (MSS. in same place).

¹¹⁴Election Register, 1836-1842, p. 98. On Oct. 20, 1841, Cloud signed a petition asking the appointment of George E. Quinan as district attorney of Brazoria County. Domestic Correspondence of the Secretary of State (MSS. in Archives, Texas State Library).

¹¹⁵Maurice Garland Fulton (ed.), *Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg, Southwestern Enterprises, 1840-1847* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 107.

¹¹⁶Probate Minutes of Brazoria County, A, 177.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, C, 192.

¹¹⁸Civil Minutes of the County Court of Brazoria County, A, 97, 108, 127, 130, 136, 137, 137a. On Oct. 20, 1841, Cloud was appointed *ad interim* commissioner to superintend the building of the courthouse. *Ibid.*, A, 137a.

¹¹⁹Probate Minutes of Brazoria County, C, 19-25, 37, 37-39, 43, 56-58, 59-62, 64, 91, 103, 108, 115, 120, 180, 183, 187; Probate Bond Records of Brazoria County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Angleton), A, 324, 330, 332, 333a, 334.

¹²⁰Probate Minutes of Brazoria County, C, 183.

¹²¹Land Certificates of Brazoria County, vols. A-B.

¹²²On Apr. 17, 1843, for example, the associate justices were L. W. Perkins and F. J. Hoskins. Civil Minutes of the County Court of Brazoria County, A, 146.

two seats for Brazoria County in the House of Representatives of the Fourth Congress. Out of three hundred votes, he received but thirty-five and stood last among four candidates.¹²³

For a while, at least, during the late 1830s and early 1840s, Cloud lived in something of an elegant style. He drank cognac;¹²⁴ carried a silver watch;¹²⁵ wore satin vests and satin pants; provided the females of his family with colored kid slippers and Robinet lace;¹²⁶ acquired a lot in Velasco at the mouth of the Brazos River, probably for a summer cottage;¹²⁷ and in 1843 gave his family a summer vacation at Sulphur Springs in what is now Grimes County.¹²⁸ Cloud also appears to have been a fancier of horseflesh. He owned a Mexican mare, a bay horse known as Pony, and a Creole blooded filly named Rosabella,¹²⁹ but at times he was horseless,¹³⁰ and had to borrow a mount.¹³¹

Insolvency

Cloud was not a successful planter or business man. Probably he was something of a procrastinator as well as a dreamer, and he lacked practical knowledge and experience. In addition, he relied on hired help to oversee his plantation, when he might have done it himself just as efficiently and have learned by doing. Also, in his simplicity, he inextricably mixed up his own property with that of others he held in trust.¹³² Had the economic system remained sound, he might have

¹²³Certificate of William P. Scott, chief justice, Sept. 6, 1839, in Local Election Returns.

¹²⁴Cloud's account with Smith & Adriance.

¹²⁵Tax Rolls, Brazoria County, 1841.

¹²⁶Cloud's account with Smith & Adriance.

¹²⁷Appraisals, June 7 and Dec. 6, 1842, and bond, Mar. 5, 1840, in Sarah Ann Wharton, executrix of William H. Wharton, deceased, vs. John Wurts Cloud and Edwin Waller, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 477; Tax Rolls, Brazoria County, 1841.

¹²⁸Answers of Ann Brigham to interrogatories, John W. Cloud vs. Elisha Maxey, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 970.

¹²⁹Cloud to Brighams, Feb. 20, 1844, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, B, 383-385.

¹³⁰Cloud to Thomas J. Allcorn, Bonaventure, Dec. 15, 1837, in Adam Cloud, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 97.

¹³¹Elisha Maxey vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 919.

¹³²James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, vs. Frederick J. Calvit, *ibid.*, file 1425; Adam E. Cloud vs. Frederick J. Calvit, *ibid.*, file 1428; Mary E. Cloud and Adam E. Cloud, infants, by next friend, B. C. Jones, vs. Frederick J. Calvit, *ibid.*, 1493; F. J. Calvit vs. Anne Brigham, Civil Case Papers of Harris County District Courts, file 1449; F. J. Calvit, plaintiff in execution, vs. Ann Brigham, claimant, *ibid.*, file 1843; F. J. Calvit, vs. James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, *ibid.*, file 1844; James Walker, guardian

kept his house in order, but in 1841 a severe depression struck Texas, and, before recovery came, Cloud's assets were swept away. For a while he staved off disaster by making promissory notes, but when these fell due and were unpaid, his creditors filed suit and attached his property.¹³³ And then, throwing good money after bad, he filed a number of cross actions that proved entirely fruitless,¹³⁴ and won two pyrrhic victories in the supreme court of Texas.¹³⁵ Finally, he borrowed \$5000 to pay off his debts, and gave a deed of trust to most of his property as security. When he failed to meet the first annual installment, the trustees seized the property.¹³⁶ He had lost virtually everything he owned.¹³⁷

Fortunately he had good friends. Among these were Asa Brigham, his brother-in-law, who was treasurer of the Republic of Texas;¹³⁸

of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, vs. Clement N. Bassett and Joseph A. Harris, *ibid.*, file 1850; James Walker, guardian of Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, vs. David Russell, sheriff *et al.*, *ibid.*, file 2154; F. J. Calvit, v. Adam E. Cloud, 14 Tex. 53. For two briefs in this last case, see Ernest W. Winkler (ed.), *Check List of Texan Imprints 1846-1860* (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1949), Nos. 48-49.

¹³³Joseph M. Trimble vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 898; Elisha Maxey vs. John W. Cloud, *ibid.*, file 918; Elisha Maxey vs. John W. Cloud, *ibid.*, file 919; William R. Smith, vs. John W. Cloud, *ibid.*, file 944. In 1843, Cloud was delinquent in paying his taxes, and some of his property was sold at auction. Brazoria *Planter*, extra, Jan. 23, 1845.

¹³⁴John W. Cloud vs. Elisha Maxey, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 969; John W. Cloud vs. Elisha Maxey, *ibid.*, file 970; John W. Cloud vs. William R. Smith, *ibid.*, file 971; John W. Cloud, vs. William R. Smith, *ibid.*, file 972; John W. Cloud vs. Joseph M. Trimble, *ibid.*, file 973; John W. Cloud vs. Joseph M. Trimble, *ibid.*, file 1085.

¹³⁵Cloud v. Smith and Adriance, 1 Tex. 102-106; Cloud v. Smith, 1 Tex. 611-620.

¹³⁶John W. Cloud to Robert J. Townes, S. M. Westervelt, and E. M. Pease and Robert and D. G. Mills, Sept. 25, 1843, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, B, 297-299; interventions of Townes, Westervelt, and Pease and Frederick J. Calvit, assignee of Robert and D. G. Mills, in Thomas J. Allcorn vs. John W. Cloud, and Mary Caples *et al.* vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, files 751 and 986; Townes, Westervelt, and Pease to Calvit, Dec. 2, 1845, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, C, 104-106. *See also*, Robert and David G. Mills, merchants and partners trading under style of R. & D. G. Mills, vs. John W. Cloud; F. J. Calvit vs. John W. Cloud; and F. J. Calvit vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 887, and Civil Case Papers of Harris County District Courts, files 1604 and 1605.

¹³⁷When he died, Cloud's assets included only his own and his father's head-right certificates, and these were sold to pay off judgments against him. J. W. Cloud, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Washington County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Brenham), file 126; D. D. Crumpler, administrator of J. W. Cloud, deceased, to F. Joseph Calvit, Feb. 8, 1854, in Deed Records of Brazoria County, P, 76-78.

¹³⁸Bond, June 27, 1844, in John W. Cloud vs. Joseph M. Trimble, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 1085. *See also*, Louis Wiltz Kemp, *The Signers of the Texas Declaration of Independence* (Houston: The Anson Jones Press, 1944), 29-30.

Anson Jones, last president of the Republic;¹³⁹ and Henry Smith, governor of the revolutionary state of Texas.¹⁴⁰ Mrs. Brigham was especially kind to her sister, Rebecca. She sometimes offered hospitality to Rebecca during her last months of pregnancy, and at her home some of the Cloud children were born, including John Wurts, Jr., in Austin, in the autumn of 1841. Cloud's relations, indeed, with the Johnston family were very close. He administered upon the estates of William Henry Harrison Johnson¹⁴¹ and Samuel W. Peebles, who appears to have been the husband of one of the Johnston girls,¹⁴² and he was present at the marriage of Margaret Johnston to James Hervey Raymond in Washington, on March 8, 1843, after which the officiating priest, the Rev. Charles Gillett, wrote in his diary:

"Introduced to Mr. Cloud, formerly Minister of the Epis. Church—having studied at Cheshire and graduated at Yale. Some talk with him about old times and old friends."¹⁴³

For the last five years of his life, Cloud had no permanent residence; he moved from pillar to post. About the first of the year 1845, he removed from Bonaventure and took up residence on Bailey's Prairie, across the river from the town of Brazoria.¹⁴⁴ He did not long remain there or even in Brazoria County, for he soon moved to Harris County. This might have been as early as March, 1845, when he signed a bill of sale there.¹⁴⁵ In Houston he was likely a guest in the home of Mrs. Brigham, whose husband had died in the previous year. On May 16,

¹³⁹Bonds, June 19, 1843, in Elisha Maxey vs. John W. Cloud, Civil Case Papers of Brazoria County District Court, file 919, and Joseph M. Trimble vs. John W. Cloud, *ibid.*, file 898; bond, June 27, 1844, in John W. Cloud vs. Joseph M. Trimble, *ibid.*, file 1085.

¹⁴⁰Bond, May 23, 1844, in Smith & Adriance vs. John W. Cloud, *ibid.*, file 904.

¹⁴¹William H. H. Johnston, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 278. On Aug. 7, 1841, Johnston had written to Anson Jones: "... it is late in the evening, and the boy is waiting to start, and I have a letter to write to Mr. Cloud..." Anson Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence Relating to the Republic of Texas, Its History and Annexation* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1859), 164.

¹⁴²Samuel W. Peebles, deceased, Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, file 396.

¹⁴³Diary of Charles Gillett (MS. in possession of Miss Ruth Gillette Hardy, of Spring Valley, New York).

¹⁴⁴On Dec. 30, 1844, he filed a legal paper referring to his home on Oyster Creek, i. e. Bonaventure, but twelve days later he filed two papers referring to his residence in or near Bailey's Prairie. Application for sales in Probate Case Papers of Brazoria County, files 278 and 348 and Probate Minutes of Brazoria County, D, 130.

¹⁴⁵Cloud to Ann Brigham, Mar. 17, 1845, in Deed Records of Harris County, J, 252-253. One of Cloud's slaves died in Houston during the fortnight ending July 11, 1845. *Morning Star* (Houston), July 17, 1845, p. 2, col. 2.

1845, during the excitement attendant upon the forthcoming admission of Texas into the United States, he attended a dinner in honor of Sam Houston at the Old Capitol in Houston and offered a voluntary toast, showing that he was a Houston partisan:

Annexation: A tableau on which is obscurely sketched future events; whose foreground presents Sam Houston the next President of the United States.¹⁴⁶

From Houston, Cloud removed to Harrisburg (now a part of Houston), some miles down Buffalo Bayou. There he probably lived in a small frame house, fourteen by twenty feet, on the banks of the bayou, that later was levied on by the sheriff.¹⁴⁷ But seemingly Cloud was not entirely insolvent, for in Harrisburg he indulged himself and family with oysters, of which he was very fond. An oyster sloop came up the bayou from Galveston Bay twice a week, and each trip it put off for Cloud a barrel of oysters. Early each morning he would retire to the rear of his house and open the shells. His daughter, Anna, was as fond of raw oysters as he, but the sons William and John abominated them. Cloud thought that if they ate them, they would learn to like them.¹⁴⁸

From Harrisburg, Cloud returned with his family to Houston, but after a short while he continued to San Felipe in Austin County, where he remained for a brief time. Finally he moved northward across the county line into Washington County and settled south of Chappell Hill.¹⁴⁹ Here, on September 15, 1850, at the age of fifty-three years, six months, and eighteen days, Cloud died,¹⁵⁰ and his remains were no

¹⁴⁶*Telegraph and Texas Register*, May 28, 1845, p. 1, col. 4; *Texas National Gazette* (Washington), May 29, 1845, p. 1, col. 4.

¹⁴⁷Cloud, by D. Russell, sheriff, to Thomas Milnor, Mar. 12, 1849, in Deed Records of Harris County, O, 147.

¹⁴⁸"Autobiography, John Wirt Cloud," 9-10.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 10. On Jan. 21, 1850, Mrs. Cloud purchased twelve acres in Washington County. This tract, together with two acres she later acquired, she sold on Jan. 16, 1858. Deed Records of Washington County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Brenham), Q, 599-600, 613. Near the site of Cloud's home is an Austin County community known as Sempronius, and it has been said that Cloud lived and died at Sempronius. Definitely he lived in Washington County, for his estate was administered there, and it is presumed that he died at his residence. For the claim that Cloud died at Sempronius, see Burger (ed.), *Diocese of Mississippi, Journal of the First Convention, 1826*, unnumbered page; Burger, "Adam Cloud," in *Journal of Mississippi History*, reprinted in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XVII, 173. More recently has appeared the erroneous assertion that Cloud died at his home in the town of Washington. Rubert, "John Wurts Cloud," in Webb (ed.), *The Handbook of Texas*, I, 364. At no time was Cloud ever a resident of Washington, although he probably was a frequent visitor in the home of Rebecca's sister, Ann, there. In 1850, however, Mrs. Walker, as she was then, was in Bexar County.

¹⁵⁰*Texas State Gazette*, II (Oct. 19, 1850), p. 70, col. 1.

doubt buried in the neighborhood. Litigation had hounded him to the brink of the grave, for only twelve days before his death he appeared in the district clerk's office in Brenham in obedience to a summons to answer interrogatories relating to the guardianship of his son, Adam Erastus.¹⁵¹

His wife, then pregnant and with six of her own children and two of her husband's by his first wife to care for, must have been left in straitened circumstances, but somehow she managed. She continued to reside in Washington County until 1858, when she removed first to Austin County and then to Gonzales County.¹⁵² Eighteen years later, she went to live with her youngest daughter in Austin.¹⁵³ In 1881, she obtained a land certificate for 1820 acres "as a surviving widow of one of the soldiers of the Texas Revolution."¹⁵⁴ She died in Austin on January 7, 1897, at the age of eighty-five,¹⁵⁵ after a widowhood of more than forty-six years.

Measured in terms of material success, Cloud's life was a failure, but in terms of the more important values of service to Church and country and the contribution of children to posterity, his career was rich and colorful and significant.

¹⁵¹Answers of John W. Cloud to interrogatories, Sept. 3, 1850, in Adam Erastus Cloud, minor, Probate Case Papers of Harris County, file C-73. On June 17, 1850, Cloud had been issued a certificate for \$20 due V. Bennett for service in the Texan army. Claims Papers (MSS. in Archives, Texas State Library), file John W. Cloud.

¹⁵²Deed Records of Gonzales County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Gonzales), N, 172-173; O, 143; P, 339; X, 416-417.

¹⁵³Deed Records of Travis County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's office, Austin), vol. 28, pp. 479-481, 481; vol. 32, pp. 292-293; vol. 43, pp. 516-517; vol. 46, pp. 138-139; 187-188, 462-463; vol. 54, p. 414; vol. 98, pp. 180-182.

¹⁵⁴Sabine Bounty (MSS. in General Land Office, Austin), file 23. On Dec. 12, 1881, Mrs. Cloud sold the certificate to Walter A. Malin for \$220. The land is located in Sabine County.

¹⁵⁵Austin *Daily Citizen*, Jan. 8, 1897, p. 8, cols. 4 and 6; tombstone on lot 197, section 1, Oakwood Cemetery, Austin.

Bishop Satterlee's Mission to Russia in 1896

By C. Rankin Barnes*

THE fact that the Right Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, D.D., Presiding Bishop, was one of the deputation of nine representatives of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. which visited Russia in March, 1956, for conversations with Christian leaders in the Soviet Union, has recalled another visit made by an American bishop to the same country, under vastly different circumstances, just 60 years before.

Mr. Ogle Ridout Singleton, secretary of the diocese of Washington, recently sent to the Presiding Bishop excerpts from the diary of the Right Rev. Henry Yates Satterlee, D.D., taken from the *1897 Journal* of that diocese.

The Man

Henry Yates Satterlee, son of Edward Rathbone Satterlee and Jane Anna Yates, was born in New York City, January 11, 1843. Most of his early boyhood, however, was spent in Albany. When the family returned to New York in 1856, he began his systematic school life. Three years later, he entered Columbia College, where his vocation to the ministry became clear to him. He graduated in 1863.

In the fall of that year, he entered the General Theological Seminary, New York. On Sundays he served as a lay reader at Zion Church, Wappinger's Falls, whose rector, needing assistance because of ill health, asked him to become an assistant. The bishop of New York¹ agreed to this plan, and on November 21, 1865, ordained the young seminarian as deacon, assigning him to Zion Church. Mr. Satterlee graduated from the seminary June 28, 1866, and two days later was married to Miss Jane Lawrence Churchill of New York.

His ordination to the priesthood had to be deferred until the day he reached the canonical age of twenty-four, January 11, 1867. Mr.

*The Rev. Dr. Barnes is secretary of the General Convention and of the National Council.—*Editor's note.*

¹The Right Rev. Horatio Potter, D.D. (February 9, 1802—January 2, 1887).

Satterlee served as curate until 1875, when, on the death of the incumbent, he was chosen as rector. He made a strong parish out of Zion Church.

In 1882, he accepted a call to the rectorship of Calvary Church, New York, where he had a notable ministry. Twice he declined elections to the episcopate.

Plans for the creation of a new Diocese of Washington were approved by the General Convention of 1895. Its primary convention resulted, on the 11th ballot, in the choice of Dr. Satterlee to be its first bishop. He accepted the election and was consecrated in his parish church on March 25, 1896, being number 180 in the American succession.

He will always be remembered as the founder of the Washington Cathedral and the one who laid, in a relatively short episcopate, solid foundations for a strong, young diocese. He died in Washington, February 22, 1908.²

The Occasion

Less than a week after his first diocesan convention, Bishop Satterlee, with his family, on May 30, 1896, sailed from New York on *S. S. Werra*, bound for Naples and a three-month vacation. He was thoroughly familiar with the European scene, having visited the Continent in 1858, 1880, 1890 and 1892.³ He had no expectation of visiting Russia, but the call for him to do so arose after his sailing.

Stirred by the wanton slaughter of thousands of Christian Armenians by the Turks, a group of Christian leaders wished to present to the Emperor of Russia a petition "to use your august and beneficent influence as to secure, in combination with other Christian Powers, safety of property, life, and honor to those who still survive."⁴ This petition, originating with the bishop of Hereford (Dr. Percival), had been signed by more than half the English bishops, 73 bishops of the American Episcopal Church, by the Scottish bishops, six in Ireland, the 21 Methodist bishops in America, and the leading ministers of other communions in England and America. This method of approach to the emperor was resorted to because Russia had intimated to the other powers that the

²For a definitive biography, cf. Charles H. Brent, *A Master Builder, Being the Life and Letters of Henry Yates Satterlee, First Bishop of Washington* (New York, 1916).

³Brent, *op. cit.*, passim.

⁴Brent, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

exercise of any coercive force would be counted a hostile act. Everything had to be done with great secrecy.

The sequence of events which led to Bishop Satterlee's mission was later clarified by Canon Scott Holland.⁵

"It came out of a move that our English bishops, with the American, should approach the Czar personally on behalf of Armenia. The Archbishop was to write the Address, etc. But all this was bowled over by Bishop Creighton, who had just returned from Russia and told us that it was quite fatal to move from the English side. Everything that came from England would be regarded as having a political purpose; it would go to the Czar through the F.O.⁶ and would be at once treated with the utmost suspicion. This crushed us for the moment, and then we all cried at once, 'Why not the American bishops only? they will be free from all suspicion.' And we found that Bishop Potter⁷ of New York was in town, and I was sent off in a hansom to implore him to undertake it. He was very cordial and said at once, 'Satterlee can go, he is close at hand.' And I said, 'Where?' and he said, 'Vienna,' which he seemed to think was close to St. Petersburg. However, he most kindly forwarded our appeal, and added his own name and authorized the Bishop to go on behalf of the American Bench."⁸

The Diary

FRIDAY, JULY 3, 1896. [Rome] Received communication from England, asking me to present the Petition of English Speaking Christians in the United States, Great Britain and Canada, in behalf of the Armenians, to the Emperor of Russia. I replied that I was very reluctant to act, as I came abroad for a rest after the most anxious and burdensome year of my whole life—to rest for the sake of the Diocese of Washington—that if there were no other Bishop who would go I would undertake the duty for the sake of the suffering Christians in the Turkish Empire.

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MONDAY, JULY 6, 1896. [Rome] Consented to go to Russia after urgent request from the Bishop of New York, and others in England;

⁵Born January 27, 1847. Then canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Died, March 17, 1918.

⁶Foreign Office.

⁷The Right Rev. Henry Codman Potter, D.D. (May 25, 1835-July 21, 1908).

⁸Quoted in Brent, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

and communicated with the Rev. Canon Scott Holland regarding the details of the Mission.

WEDNESDAY, JULY, 15, 1896. [Switzerland] Received telegram from Mr. George Zabriskie,⁹ stating that he would accompany me to Russia, and would meet me at Berlin on Friday morning. Started that afternoon for Russia and left my family at Axenstein, Switzerland.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1896. Berne, Switzerland. Procured passport for Russia, from the American Minister, and then started for Berlin.

FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1896. Arrived at Berlin in the morning. Met Mr. Zabriskie, Arthur Gray¹⁰ and Dr. Fergusson,¹¹ who were to accompany me on my Mission to Russia.

SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1896. Started in the morning from Berlin for St. Petersburg.

SUNDAY, JULY 19, 1896. Arrived at 8 p. m. at St. Petersburg. The sun was high at that hour as it is at 4 o'clock in New York or Washington.

MONDAY, JULY 20, 1896. Spent the morning with Mr. Breckinridge,¹² the American Minister. Gave full details of our Mission; and said that as it was of a purely religious character, we came to him only informally to request his counsel. He thoroughly understood the nature of that Mission, and gave us much valuable advice; saying that he would explain to those in authority that we represented no political school or influence; but came to ask an audience of the Emperor purely on a Christian errand of mercy. In the afternoon I shortly after met Prince Andronikoff Comneno, and was introduced by him to the most Rev. Germanos Chourmouzes, Metropolitan of Silesia, a most Apostolic

⁹October 12, 1852-October 4, 1931. A parishioner and vestryman of Calvary Church, New York, when Bishop Satterlee was its rector, and his close friend. First chancellor of the diocese of New York.

¹⁰Arthur Romeyn Gray (December 30, 1875-January 11, 1933), then a college student, brother-in-law of Mr. Zabriskie. Ordained deacon, October 26, 1900; priest, August 6, 1901.

¹¹Burr Fergusson, M.D., later to become a brother-in-law of Mr. Gray.

¹²Clifton R. Breckinridge (November 22, 1846-December 3, 1932) was the American Minister to Russia, 1894-97.

and Spiritually-minded man, who lives in Tarsus in the home of St. Paul himself, and was the representative Patriarch of Antioch at the coronation of the Emperor of Russia, and who was now in St. Petersburg to plead the cause of his suffering people. For the next two weeks I was daily in the company, not only of these Godly men but also of Prince Maltos of Odessa; Prince Beboutoff, the Charge d'Affaires at St. Petersburg of the Catholicos of Etchmiadin, and the Supreme Patriarch of all the Armenians; the Greek Minister at the Court of Russia; the Editor of the "Tiflis Gazette of the Caucasus;" and with several others who were deeply interested in my mission.

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1896. Met those whom I had seen yesterday, for a prolonged conference, which was ended by a prayer in which we all joined with the Metropolitan, for the success of our united missions. This day the Metropolitan had an audience with the Empress Dowager in which he said that he had come from the Far East, and the Bishop of Washington from the far West, on the same errand of mercy in behalf of the suffering Christians in the Turkish Empire, and had a prolonged conference with her on the subject.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1896. Called on the American Minister in the morning, who told me that he had explained to Prince Labanoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the nature of my mission, and had received a comforting but non-committal reply. In the afternoon I went with him and Prince Labanoff to call upon Prince Galitzin, the Head of the Court of the Empress Dowager, to request an interview with her. In the railroad car I was presented to Prince Pobedonostzeff, Minister of Religion and of course the most powerful layman in the Russian Church. At Peterhoff the whole station was decorated on account of the Church car at the station which was to be consecrated on the morrow and to be sent forth for the use of the Priests in the Russian Church in Siberia. The Priest in charge courteously requested me to be present on the next day at the consecration services, but I was unable to do so. On my arrival at the palace, Prince Galitzin received us very courteously, and said that the Empress Maria Feodorovna would accord me an audience after I had seen the Emperor. On my return to Prince Andronikoff's house at St. Petersburg, I at once wrote to Baron Frederick, the head of the Emperor's court, requesting an interview with His Majesty. In the afternoon I had an interview with a Deacon of the Caucasus.

THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1896. Prolonged interview with the Metropolitan of Silesia and the Greek Secretary of Legation at Sebastopol; afterwards with Prince Andronikoff and Prince Bedoutoff. In the evening went with Mr. Zabriskie to Prince Andronikoff's house. Met there the American Minister, the Greek Minister and others.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1896. On this and every successive day while I was in St. Petersburg I met the same persons I have already mentioned.

SUNDAY, JULY 26, 1896. Attended the Early Communion at the English Church, afterwards went to St. Isaac's Cathedral with the Metropolitan of Silesia, Mr. Zabriskie and others. We were admitted into the Sanctuary, and remained there during the whole of the Morning Service and the Celebration of the Holy Communion. The service lasted $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, during which the whole congregation of upwards of 2,000 persons in the nave of the Cathedral remained standing. The Celebration is in many respects very different from that of the Roman Church. The whole Greek and Russian Church use leavened bread instead of the wafer bread. The Altar and Altar cloth are exceedingly small, and there is always in the Greek Church a richly-ornamented copy of the Gospels standing as the chief ornament of the Altar itself. After the service was over I was courteously saluted by the Bishop Vicar, the Archimandrites, and the accompanying Clergy.

TUESDAY, JULY 28, 1896. Started for the Falls of Imatra in Finland. The party consisted of the United States Minister, the Metropolitan of Silesia, Prince Andronikoff, Prince Bedoutoff, Prince Malthos of Odessa, Mr. Zabriskie, Mr. Arthur Gray, Dr. Fergusson and others. On our way we passed through many lochs and many lakes. Finland is a country which largely resembles the Adirondacks, not only as a lake district but as a place where the wealthy residents of St. Petersburg have country residences and camps. The excursion was altogether most interesting, besides it afforded me large opportunities of conversing with the Metropolitan and the Armenian representative on the subject of the reunion of Christendom. We returned to St. Petersburg the latter part of the week.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 2, 1896. We attended once more the services at the Cathedral.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1896. Received word from the American Legation from Prince Labanoff that the Emperor would accord me an audience on the morrow.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1896. Started for the palace at Peterhoff at mid-day, and went to see the Emperor.¹³ I was received by the Emperor and the Empress at a perfectly private audience, at which no other person was present; and they kindly accorded me the fullest opportunity, not only to present the Petition itself, but to explain its object. Returning home I found the Metropolitan and others awaiting me at my hotel.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1896. I was given a dinner by the prominent Armenians in St. Petersburg, and this was followed by the Moleben service at Prince Andronikoff's house, or a thanksgiving for my mission to Russia, in which the Metropolitan of Silesia officiated and Father John of Kronstadt assisted. The choir of St. Isaac's Cathedral, or at least a part of it, rendered the musical portion of the service. On my return home to my hotel I found Prince Labanoff, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and I received a telegram from Prince Galitzin stating that the Empress Maria Feodorovna would accord me an audience the next day.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1896. At noon I started for the palace at Peterhoff, and, strange to say, side by side with the Metropolitan Ambassador of Persia. I was driven in the Empress' carriage to her villa at the palace, and had a private audience with her of half an hour, in which I told her that as I had come in the Name of Christ, as the bearer of a petition of more than forty million English-speaking Christians to His Majesty the Emperor, so I felt, and would tell those from whom I came, that I had been received by their Majesties in the Name of Christ. And I also said to her, as I had said previously, to the Emperor and Empress, when the first news of the massacres of the Armenians came to us our first thought was that the days of Nero had returned, and our next thought was that we must, in the sight of God, do all in our power to help our brother Christians in the far East. That we came to their Majesties for aid in Christ's name, and that the feeling was growing among all Christian people that this Turkish persecution was fast growing to be a question that not only affected our common civilization but

¹³Nicholas II (May 18, 1868-July 17, 1918). Succeeded his father, Alexander III, as Emperor of Russia, November 1, 1894.

our common Christianity. After the audience was over I drove to the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul for my own private thanksgiving service, that God had so signally blessed my mission. I then made a farewell call upon the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, and after that upon the Bishop Vicar who had received me so kindly. At the railway station I found a large number of Greeks, Russians and Armenians awaiting me, with the Metropolitan of Silesia. They presented to me a jewelled cross in memory of my mission, and then, after an earnest service of prayer, in which the Metropolitan officiated and the before-mentioned choir took part, I entered the train which moved off as the choir was singing a parting hymn.¹⁴

¹⁴*Journal, Diocese of Washington, 1897, pp. 36-40.*

Agreement on Fundamentals

Correspondence between Dr. Huntington and Dr. Manning on the Crapsey Case, 1906

By W. D. F. Hughes*

IN the spring of 1891, William Thomas Manning,¹ then in deacon's orders, came to New York City for the first time, bringing with him the manuscript of *The Soteriology of the New Testament*,² by his mentor and friend, William Porcher DuBose.³ He arranged for the publication of the book, attended the General Theological Seminary for a brief time, and made the acquaintance of William Reed Huntington,⁴ rector of Grace Church. Huntington was at the full tide of his career. He was held in highest regard throughout the Church, recognized as a leader of the Broad Church school, but above all partisan narrowness or exclusiveness. With his interest in, and devotion to, all that affected the life of the Church, it may be supposed that he gave to the serious young deacon from Sewanee the same cordial welcome which he gave to many another colleague in the ministry, newly ordained and starting on the work of the pastoral office. Manning was from the very beginning of his life in the Church as definitely a High Churchman as Huntington was a Broad Churchman. That made no

*The Rev. W. Dudley F. Hughes is engaged in writing a full-length biography of the late Bishop Manning.—*Editor's note.*

¹WILLIAM THOMAS MANNING (May 12, 1866-November 18, 1949) was born in England, but came to the United States as a boy. He was ordained deacon in December 1889, and priest two years later. Rector, Trinity Church, Redlands, California, 1891-93; professor of dogmatic theology, University of the South, 1893-95; rector, St. John's Church, Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, 1896-98; rector, Christ Church, Nashville, Tennessee, 1898-1903; vicar, St. Agnes' Chapel, Trinity Parish, New York City, 1903-08; assistant rector, Trinity Parish, New York City, 1904-08; rector of the same, 1908-1921; bishop of New York, 1921-1947.

²*The Soteriology of the New Testament* was first published in 1892 by Macmillan and Company; new edition, 1899; reissue by Longmans, Green & Co. in October, 1906. Concerning its author, see below, Footnote #3.

³WILLIAM PORCHER DuBOSE (April 11, 1836-August 18, 1918) is generally hailed by English scholars as the most original of American theologians. In 1907, Prof. William Sanday of Oxford University termed him "the wisest Anglican writer on both sides of the Atlantic." [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 472-473; and Theodore DuBose Bratton, *An Apostle of Reality* . . . (New York, 1936).]

⁴WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON (September 20, 1838-July 26, 1909) was the leading presbyter of the Episcopal Church soon after he became rector of Grace Church, New York City, in 1883, where he remained until his death. [See *D.A.B.*, IX, 420-421; and John Wallace Suter, *Life and Letters of William Reed Huntington* (New York, 1925).]

difference to either one. Their devotion to the Church was above party. In 1891, this was obvious of the older man; of the younger, it was yet to be seen.

Manning seems to have made rather more impression on Huntington than other young men who called upon him. He kept in touch with him. Ten years later, Manning was rector of Christ Church, Nashville, and deputy from Tennessee to the General Convention of 1901 in San Francisco. Huntington was of course one of the deputies from New York. For the trip home across the continent, one of the vestryman of Grace Church, E. H. Harriman,⁵ put at the disposal of his rector a private railway car, in which he could have a group of travelling companions of his own choosing. Manning was one of those he invited. The talk was surely at times on important matters in the life of the Church. Friendships were doubtless made or strengthened. Certainly this was true of the young priest and his old host, for Dr. Huntington now set about a quiet campaign to bring Dr. Manning to New York. A few months later, when he knew Manning had received a call to a church in Philadelphia, he sent him an urgent telegram to do nothing until he had heard from New York. Dr. Huntington was helping one of the New York parishes find the right man, and he was sure that Manning was that man. The vestry was being hampered temporarily in its negotiations by a difficulty in securing the resignation of the current rector, who was insane!

Nothing came of this, but in 1903 Manning was brought to New York by Dr. Morgan Dix,⁶ rector of Trinity Parish, to be vicar of Saint Agnes' Chapel. Manning and Dix were always very close to one another. That was not extraordinary. Dix was his rector, and their churchmanship was the same. But it was unusual, and notable, that the Broad Church rector of Grace Church should have been as close as he was to the High Church vicar of a chapel of Trinity Church. On the one hand, Dr. Huntington admired Dr. Manning's administra-

⁵EDWARD HENRY HARRIMAN (1848-1909), noted railroad executive, became famous through his regeneration of the Union Pacific system, and because of his battle with James J. Hill for control of the Burlington, and, due to its involvement with the latter, of the Northern Pacific. [See *D. A. B.*, VIII, 296-300.]

⁶MORGAN DIX (Nov. 1, 1827-April 29, 1908) was connected with Trinity Parish, New York, for over fifty years, and was its rector from November 10, 1862, until his death. He was a leading presbyter of the Church, as shown by his election as president of the House of Deputies of the General Convention, and serving as such during five sessions, 1886-1898. [See *D. A. B.*, V, 327-328; and John A. Dix and L. C. Lewis, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, Part V, *The Rectorship of Dr. Morgan Dix* (New York, 1950).]

tive ability. He sent his secretary, Deaconess Garvin, to study Manning's system of keeping parish records. But on the other hand, he respected, and trusted, Manning's judgment on theological matters of the greatest import, as the correspondence which follows indicates.

The Crapsey Trial

The problem of assimilating ancient truths and modern knowledge, or of restating, without contradicting, truth in language currently acceptable, is a perennial one. At times the problem, for one reason or another, causes more than normal irritation. In 1906, the situation created by the Crapsey trial and conviction weighed heavily on the consciences of many. On Sunday, 19 February, 1905, in Saint Andrew's Church, Rochester, New York, the rector, Algernon Sidney Crapsey,⁷ made the following statement in an evening lecture. As he himself reports, the lecture had been hastily written the day before, in the manner in which he usually wrote. He read it as written, without any revision or reconsideration.

⁷ALGERNON SIDNEY CRAPSEY (June 28, 1847-Dec. 31, 1927) was born in Fairmount, Ohio, about five miles from Cincinnati, the son of Jacob Tompkins Crapsey and Rachel (Morris), and the grandson of U. S. Senator Thomas Morris (1776-1844), an aggressive radical abolitionist in his generation.

Crapsey's father, a lawyer, did not do well, and Algernon went to work at the age of eleven. At the age of fifteen, he served as a private in the 79th Ohio Infantry, but was sent home after four months to die from heart trouble. However, he lived, and at the age of twenty was a bookkeeper in New York City. Here he joined the Episcopal Church and prepared for its ministry by taking a special course at St. Stephen's (now Bard) College, 1867-69, and by graduating in 1872 from the General Theological Seminary in New York. In the latter year he was ordained deacon, and priest in 1873.

From 1872 until 1879, Crapsey was on the staff of Trinity Church, New York, assigned to the work at St. Paul's Chapel. He was highly successful.

On June 2, 1875, he married Adelaide Trowbridge of Catskill, New York. Nine children were born to them, of whom five outlived the father.

In June 1879, Crapsey became rector of St. Andrew's Church, Rochester, New York, where he remained until his deposition in 1906. The parish, which was very weak when he went to it, became strong, and an influential center of social work.

Dr. Crapsey ends his autobiography, *The Last of the Heretics* (New York, 1924), with a chapter entitled "The Divinity of the Telegraph Pole." In it he states:

"... When I am asked in these days what my religion is, I hesitate and stumble, and men go away thinking that I have no religion.

"But I have a religion and if asked to give it a name I should say I am a Pantheistic Humanist, and if one were to ask, 'What is a Pantheistic Humanist?' I should say one who believes in the divinity of a telegraph pole..." (p. 292).

"When I thought on these things I said if my Christ has in Him the divinity of a telegraph pole, then He is divine enough for me..." (p. 293).

In the light of scientific research, the Founder of Christianity, Jesus the Son of Joseph, no longer stands apart from the common destiny of man in life and death, but He is in all things physical like as we are, born as we are born, dying as we die, and both in life and death in the keeping of the same Divine Power, that heavenly Fatherhood, which delivers us from the womb and carries us down to the grave. When we come to know Jesus in His historical relations, we see that miracle is not a help, it is a hindrance, to an intelligent comprehension of His person, His character and His Mission. We are not alarmed, we are relieved when scientific history proves to us that the fact of His miraculous birth was unknown to Himself, unknown to His mother, and unknown to the whole Christian community of the first generation.⁸

Not unnaturally this statement caused a good deal of commotion; rapture in some quarters, chagrin in others. An effort was made to get Crapsey to withdraw, modify, or gloss over his words; but he decided to stand by them exactly as they were originally written. He was put on trial for heresy in April, 1906, and convicted. He appealed, and the Court of Appeal upheld the conviction. He then wrote a letter of renunciation of the ministry to his bishop,⁹ and was deposed in December, 1906. It is against the background of these proceedings that Dr. Huntington, who was a member of the Court of Appeal, wrote to Dr. Manning. The agreement between the two on the fundamental question at issue, the desire of the old liberal to have the criticism of the young traditionalist, are significant historically, and of interest for the present and the future.

DR. HUNTINGTON TO DR. MANNING

Grace Church Rectory

804 Broadway

New York

November 11: 1906.

Dear Dr. Manning:—

Enclosed is a correspondence which I am going to trouble you to read. The letter addressed to me comes from a young man of more than usual intelligence, and what is said to him in reply may possibly influence others as well as himself.

⁸Quoted *verbatim* from *The Last of the Heretics*, pp. 251-252.

⁹WILLIAM DAVID WALKER (June 29, 1839-May 2, 1917). First missionary bishop of North Dakota, 1883-1897; third bishop of Western New York, 1897-1917.

What I would especially like you to do for me if you will, is to criticise with the utmost freedom and frankness the answer which I propose to send, and of which I also enclose a copy. The matter is so serious that I do not like to advise my young correspondent without taking counsel.

I have already received the criticisms of one clergyman, representing a distinct "school of thought," and I should greatly like to have yours before I despatch my letter. These two criticisms are the only ones that I shall seek. Of course, I do not pledge myself to adopt your suggestions, but it will greatly help me to have you make them.

Faithfully yours,

/s/ W. R. HUNTINGTON.

P. S.—For obvious reasons, I have omitted all proper names. W.R.H.

A CERTAIN YOUNG MAN TO DR. HUNTINGTON

My dear Dr. Huntington:—

As an old friend of my father's and also a friend of my old rector, I am taking the liberty of writing to you. I wish to consult you about the unrest that is so current today in our Church, especially referring to a concrete case.

X is a close friend of mine, and I presume that his views are not very different from mine. His attitude, however, is different, in the importance he attached to making his views known. He is so honest he felt he should not conceal the fact that he no longer believed in the miraculous birth of Our Lord or in his carnal Resurrection. He believes in the Incarnation with his whole heart, and in the Resurrection in the truer and higher sense. But the materialism, the eating and drinking, etc., he must reject. For myself, this gross materialism I can overlook for the sake of emphasizing the truths that underlie those representations, and accept the Pauline view of the spiritual body, which is neither "flesh nor blood," which do not enter the kingdom of heaven, in contrast with the Lucan account. I do not possess such a tender conscience as my dear friend X that I find it necessary to terrify people with these negative positions. I believe that the Church in time will reach the more spiritual conceptions.

But, Doctor, in the meantime, before this changed attitude takes place, should the men in Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, declare themselves in favor of the new theology, and let their brethren perish? That is the question that is now confronting me. I believe with all my heart that God is incarnated in the Son Jesus and that Our Lord arose from the dead, not three days after the Crucifixion, but immediately after his breath left the body; that He made himself known to his disciples, but certainly not by the eating of honey or fish. Now what is my duty? Is it my place to leave the Church, or is the Church compre-

hensive enough to permit me to labor for the cause of Our Master without a whole-hearted belief in the virgin birth, which I would not dare deny any more than I would dare deny the virgin birth of Buddha?

Or, if I can find it right to stay in the Church with my beliefs (which I imagine are about the same as those of A, B, C, D and, as you know, a host of other men) should we keep silent when a few of our brethren are being immolated?

My dear Doctor, you have always stood for the comprehensiveness of the Church, and hence I turn to you and ask, in your opinion, should the line be drawn so as to exclude men with our views? Or can the Church assimilate the newer interpretation of old thought and not be terrified by the rejection of a materialism that offends? We love the Church, and believe that it has a grander future than prohibiting the truth. If the Church of the first six centuries, of the sixteenth century, had the power to change and transform her Creeds, have the men of the present day and the present school of thought no rights in this matter? Or must they in a body leave the historic institution?

I trust that you will excuse this liberty that I have taken. I know you are exceedingly busy. Yet one must turn to those who have seen a vision of a Church that can claim real catholicity.

Your very sincerely,

[Name omitted.]

DR. HUNTINGTON'S PROPOSED REPLY

I cannot refuse a plea for counsel based on such grounds as those that make the beginning and the ending of your letter, and I will try to tell you frankly just how I feel about this whole unhappy business. First of all, let me say that, in my judgment, it would be difficult to overstate the seriousness of the crisis that is upon us. The questions involved in the controversy go down to the very roots of the Christian religion, and beside them all the other issues that have been under debate in the Episcopal Church, since its colonial days, seem inconsiderable.

I take it that what we are trying to find out is whether there be room in the ministry of this Church for men holding to a "non-natural" understanding of the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds; whether, for example, a man who believes with Matthew Arnold that, if anything be still left of the sacred body which Christ wore on earth, it lies moldered where it was laid

"In the lone Syrian town,"

can with a clear conscience stand up in Church and say "On the third day he rose again from the dead"; or whether, again, believing with Dr. Crapsey that Jesus was the son of Joseph, born as all other children of men are born, he can without reproach, on the Sunday mornings in Advent, read to the people, knowing that they will receive it as authentic

history, a story which to his own mind is folk-lore and only that. I confess that, with my present lights, I cannot see how such a course is possible for an honest man. You meet this, perhaps, with the *argumentum ab silentio*, and remind me that Saints Mark, John, Paul and Peter "know nothing" of the Virgin Birth. I acknowledge that I am much out of fashion in not attaching weight to this "know nothing" argument. If these writers had said anything that conflicted with the Virgin Birth, it would indeed mean much; but inasmuch as they say nothing that is in conflict with that doctrine, and do say some things that are singularly consonant with it, their reticence does not disturb my faith.

When the Bishops, some years ago, found "fixity of interpretation" to be of the "essence of the Creed," they stated what, in my humble judgment, is the opposite of the truth; but surely there must be a middle ground between a bald literalism and a wild liberalism, between, in other words, a legitimate interpretation and a sort of interpretation which it is next to impossible, if not quite impossible, for an unsophisticated mind to distinguish from blank denial. To illustrate:—Latham's book on the "Risen Master" propounds a theory of Our Lord's Resurrection quite unlike that which has been commonly received in the Church, and yet he says nothing that cannot be construed in strict harmony with the narrative as it stands. He avails himself of all the light thrown upon the subject by modern science, and at the same time is loyal to the record, in other words, he interprets without denying. *Per contra*, I heard the other day of a clergyman of our Church beginning an extemporaneous prayer, publicly offered in the presence of a congregation, with these words,—“O, God, if Thou art.” Doubtless the author of this extraordinary supplication would defend himself by saying that he had merely “interpreted,” according to the wisdom given unto him, the first article of the Creed; but to my mind, he appears to have enunciated what logicians call the contradictory of it. If I understand the position taken up by the English Church at the Reformation, it was something like this:—The Christian tradition is in the main trustworthy. It is not necessary to insist on verbal inspiration. Our quarrel with Rome is not on the score of her having a tradition, for without tradition there can be no history, but because of her having put the oral on the same level with the written tradition. The New Testament reports the facts with sufficient accuracy for all practical purposes, and by that we will abide.

In accordance with this decision, there was worked up into the devotional fabric of the Reformed Church, in one shape or another, pretty much all that the Gospels and most of what the Epistles contain, and this was done without the slightest thought of excluding anything on the ground that it was too hard to be believed. But now, after three hundred years and more of practical acquiescence, a generation has arisen which insists that certain things *are* too hard to be believed, to wit, miracles. “Miracles do not happen;” and, therefore, either those portions of our scheme of public worship which suggest that, at any rate, they did happen once, even if they happen no longer,

must either be excised or else declared to be patient of a figurative interpretation, and of that only. And now, to come directly to the Creed, as having a somewhat different status from the other portions of the Prayer Book, I understand the Anglican position to be this:—That the Creed must be interpreted in the light of the language of the Scriptures (See Article VIII of the Articles of Religion) and that any interpretation is permissible that can be shown to have Scripture behind it. Thus in the frequently instanced case of the eleventh article of the Creed, I do not admit that I am nullifying the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body when I interpret it in the light of modern knowledge, and why not? Simply because I am able to meet all the objections which science raises on chemical and biological grounds by an appeal to St. Paul's exposition of the very doctrine to express which the article in question was framed. To assume, as is commonly done, that none of those among whom the Creed took its origin understood the words in St. Paul's sense, seems to me unwarrantable. And so with all the other articles of the Creed; I find not one that is not backed by Scripture language. Much depends, of course, upon the philosophy of Nature which a man happens to hold. The spiritual philosophy of Nature has been my meat and drink ever since I began having serious thoughts upon the subject; but even so, I have to confess to finding nothing "materialistic" in certain statements in the Gospels which evidently to your mind have no other aspect. I want to be much more sure than I now am that matter has no rights which spirit is bound to respect (to paraphrase the Dred-Scott decision) before I determine that I must blot the prologue of two of the Gospels and the epilogue of all four of them if I wish to free myself from the suspicion of being a materialist in disguise. There is, I think, something to be learned on this point from Augustine's experience with the Manicheans, as detailed in the CONFESSIONS. With respect to the Resurrection Body of Christ, I am content to follow the New Testament narrative in all its literalness, even up to the under surface of the cloud which received him out of their sight. Only when I have reached that level, do I become agnostic.

But I am talking too much about my personal beliefs. That is not what you looked to me for. Let us turn to the practical side of the question. You ask, what are we to do? Stay in or go out? My reply is Do nothing rashly or in haste. You say you love the old institution despite the folk-lore, etc. Well, perhaps longer brooding over this very fact that you do love the old institution may awaken in you the surmise that possibly the institution would never have acquired those characteristics which have made you love it had it been built up around any other group of convictions than that about which, as a matter of fact, it has been built up. Would Christmas and Easter, to take palmary instances, be exactly what they are, I wonder, if the two events for which they stand had all along been understood to be miraculous only in that spiritual sense in which Romanists are told to believe that the "miracle of the altar" is wrought, namely, with no visible concomitants, no environment of evident fact? It may be pos-

sible,—it must be possible, since credible brethren are telling us that it is so in their case, to hold the dogma of the Incarnation in all its fulness while maintaining that Jesus was the son of Joseph. But will it *long* be possible? Will it be possible after hardheaded critics have begun to ask the question, "Why then should we be required to believe that he was not a sinner like the rest of us? You take the burden of one miracle off our shoulders only to impose another." Look at it, moreover, from the side of cause and effect. Does a Gospel of the Resurrection "spiritualized" into a ghost story, adequately account for the upspringing of Christendom? When criticism shall have dwarfed the "holy Nativity" into a common birth and the "precious Death" into a common dying, will not sensible people quickly reach the conclusion that the whole story, from first to last, is but a cunningly devised fable? You speak of the mention of the "third day" in the Creed as if it were an obvious instance of superstition. For myself, I do not feel sufficiently acquainted with the resurrection process to be able to affirm with any confidence (apart from revelation) what the rising of a Son of God from the dead, supposing it to occur, might mean. Time is a great mystery, timelessness a greater; and for aught I know, the interval period so carefully noted in both Creeds under the words "the third day" may have some far reaching signification that quite transcends the almanac.

But to come back to the question of stay in or go out. I can see but one straight course. Formulate your minimum of demand, and bring it before the General Convention next year at Richmond for discussion. "Declarations" amount to nothing. Petition to the real source of authority in the Church is the true resort. What is the use of appeal to the "Court of Trained Research?" It has no clerk, and nobody is authorized to speak for it, or even to tell us where it holds its sessions. The General Convention has a local habitation as well as a name, and to it, I cannot but think, resort in this matter should be had. But failing the General Convention, what then? Why this,—I say it, believe me, out of a sad heart,—I can think of no honorable course for you and those who think with you to take but to secede and to set up for yourselves. I have no sympathy, no, not the slightest, with those who taunt you with being Unitarians and say bitterly "Why don't they go to their own place?" You are not Unitarians, and why should you seek a place which is not yours, or make affinity with people who deny what you affirm? Your doctrinal position, if I understand it, is that of the Rev. Stopford Brooke, one of the keenest and most devout intellects of the Victorian period. He broke with the Church of England on this very question of miracles, and with a fine courage and a splendid sincerity went out, not knowing whither he went. I can fully understand the feeling of those who think with Dean Fremantle and with the Editor of *THE HIBBERT JOURNAL* (see the opening article of the October number) that the time has come frankly to disavow the old-time distinction between the Church and the world, and to set up a theistic society into which all people who on earth do dwell may come, with no questions asked save the single one, Do you

love goodness? That would mean, no doubt, getting rid of a somewhat troublesome dualism; we should no longer have the scandal of bad men in the Church and good men out of it; but I cannot help fearing that the large comprehension would be secured at too great a cost, and would mean the loss out of human life of certain powers, the presence of which in the organism, or, if you please, the organization, we name the Church, has helped us on to where we are. That such a world Church would be warmly welcomed in some countries, and by some races, is not unlikely; but I cannot think that English religion would feel like making terms with it.

But I must bring this already too long letter to an end. What all this means to me, I will not attempt to say. I am no such expert as you are in the new learning. The Higher Criticism came too late for me to master it. In fact, I make no claim to profound scholarship in any field; but, as you know, for you make reference to the fact, I have given much thought to the principles of ecclesiastical unity, and have devoted forty years to a continuous effort after a better understanding among believers. I have labored for peace; and now, in the very communion which I fondly hoped would prove the rallying centre, there come these ominous tokens of a possible disruption such as would make my dreams that "iridescent" thing which my critics have always insisted that it was. But old man that I am getting to be, I am not quite ready to fall into the querulous mood supposed to be proper to old age. It may be that some larger unity than that of which I have been dreaming all these years, is in store for Christ's flock, and that to your ideas is to be granted a victory of which my narrower ones were not deemed worthy, though I doubt it. Believe me,

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON.

P. S. You are at liberty to show this letter to any one to whom you think it may be of interest.

W.R.H.

DR. MANNING TO DR. HUNTINGTON

St. Agnes' Chapel, Trinity Parish,
121 West 91st St., New York.

Nov. 13, 1906.

Dear Dr. Huntington:—

I have read with the deepest interest the letter and your reply to it which you were kind enough to send to me.

My feeling in reading your reply is, first of all, one of the most heartfelt thankfulness that you in your position of leadership should feel able to write as you do. Such a letter as this cannot but have weight with those who will read it, and it will have weight most of all because

it is written by yourself with your known openmindedness and freedom from the bias of mere ecclesiasticism. The letter is as admirable in spirit as it is clear and strong in argument.

With every word that you say I most cordially agree, except that I should not feel able at certain points to concede quite as much as you do. When you say "do nothing rashly or in haste," I agree most thoroughly, for I believe with all my soul that further and deeper thought, and especially further and deeper prayer, will bring many of our brethren right in these matters. To my mind, however, the position taken by Dr. Crapsey and those who agree with him is practically "Unitarianism," and I find myself confirmed in this by the judgment of able Unitarians themselves. The leading Unitarian Minister in Cincinnati, for example, has publicly declared his entire agreement with the position of the Rev. George Clarke Cox, and has expressed his belief that Mr. Cox, in fact, stands with him.

Again, while I am sure that those are sincere who believe that they can hold the truth of the Incarnation in its fulness without belief in the Virgin Birth, I am sure in my own mind that the Church is right and that they cannot logically or philosophically do this. I agree with Dr. DuBose that they are already, though unconsciously, in a position which logically carried out is inconsistent with belief in Our Lord as the Eternal Word according to the New Testament teaching, and I feel that their position, however little they may realize it, is therefore one which, in Dr. Briggs' phrase, "would imperil Christianity itself," and which the Church can of course never sanction in her authorized teachers.

I could not therefore say as you do in such beautiful spirit at the close of your letter, that the "larger unity" for which you have so earnestly longed and so conspicuously worked may come through the victory of the ideas represented in the letter addressed to you, for I believe that those ideas are out of accord not only with the formularies of the Church, but with the truth of God as made known to us both through Revelation and Reason, and I am perfectly sure that even though the whole Church should again for a moment "wake up to find itself Arian," it could not be persuaded to remain so, but would of its own need and instinct speedily return to the fuller and diviner truth which it has ever seen and held as the Gospel of the Son of God.

These points upon which I have expressed myself do not, however, affect my feeling as to the strength of the main positions taken in your letter or as to the great wisdom of the advice which you give, with which I again express my most whole souled agreement.

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM T. MANNING.

P. S. As you gave permission to the person to whom it is addressed to show your letter to any one, I have taken the liberty of having a copy of it made by my stenographer.

Dr. Huntington's Theological Influence

Dr. Huntington's influence in the areas of Church unity and Prayer Book revision is admitted on all sides; his theological influence is not so well understood. In fact, his official biographer, Dr. John Wallace Suter, Sr., is quite apologetic about Huntington's attitude in the Crapsey case:

"It was a disappointment to many of the friends of Dr. Huntington that he did not come out in support of the position for which Dr. Crapsey stood. It was felt that he was essentially in sympathy with the liberal and progressive movement in the Church. In a sense, it may be said that it was a disappointment to Dr. Huntington himself, not to come out upon this side of the debate. In saying this, it is meant that there was no doubt a conflict within himself as to the attitude which he ought to take in the matter. It is not meant, however, that if he had been free he would necessarily have become a champion of Dr. Crapsey. The fact of the matter was that he was not free. He esteemed himself, and rightly, prohibited from making any statement whatever on the matter; and for the reason that he was a member of the Court of Review of the Province, to which, if there were an appeal, the case must inevitably be sent. It was clearly impossible for him to judge the case in advance, and he maintained a scrupulous silence. Those who felt that in Dr. Huntington they would find a champion for the liberal cause were fortified in their opinion by his attitude in the Briggs case . . ."¹⁰

It is possible that Dr. Suter never saw the correspondence between Drs. Huntington and Manning, which we have quoted above, but he included plenty of other letters in his biography of Dr. Huntington which makes it difficult to believe that there was ever any "conflict within himself as to the attitude he ought to take in the matter." Six years before, Dr. Huntington had become considerably disillusioned about Dr. Crapsey. In a letter to a friend, under date of December 31, 1900, he had written:

. . . Mr. Davies' letter I enclose. It is interesting as showing that even a typical Broad Churchman finds it impossible to follow Brother Crapsey all lengths.

I certainly cannot, and his last "Tractate" has remained undistributed, though I sent out 100 each of all others . . .¹¹

¹⁰John Wallace Suter, *Life and Letters of William Reed Huntington: A Champion of Unity* (New York and London, 1925), pp. 304-305.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 336.

Before the trial was over, his mind was made up concerning "the principles involved in the trial," and from that conclusion he never wavered. Under date of April 30, 1906, he wrote to Miss Meredith:

"... I cannot discuss the Crapsey case, for the reason that I am a member of the Court of Appeals to which the matter will probably be carried on points of law, for this court has no jurisdiction on points of doctrine, the supreme court of all not having yet been constituted. As a lawyer's daughter, you will, I am sure, appreciate this reticence. But while I cannot discuss the "Crapsey case," that is to say, the guilt or innocence of the accused, I am quite at liberty to speak of the principles involved in the trial. My convictions on this point are expressed to a dot in the article on *Clerical Veracity* which appeared last week in the *Post*. . . . Sedgwick's opinion here quoted, wherein he draws a distinction between interpreting articles of the Creed and denying them, seems to me absolutely accurate; and I marvel that this distinction should have played so small a part in the discussions at Batavia. To my mind, it is the key to the whole situation . . ."¹²

On May 2nd, writing to the same person, he sharpens the exposition of his position:

"Pardon me if I suggest that you have missed my point. I can go as far as most men in the matter of freedom of *interpretation* as respects the Creed; but I draw a sharp line between interpretation and denial. When that line has been passed by a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, I conceive that no injury is done him by judicial action condemnatory of his position . . ."¹³

"You say that you incline to think that any man should be permitted to stay in the Church who can *say* the Creed, no matter what his interpretation. Again I urge you to substitute 'denial' for 'interpretation,' and consider what such a result would mean for the multitudes of silent church members who are scandalized at the thought of a preacher's denying in the evening what he has solemnly affirmed in the morning.

"You speak of the doubt of Saint Thomas. I cannot but think the reference infelicitous. Had Thomas continued in his denial, do you really believe that he would have been accounted a proper person to serve in the company of those who were appointed to be 'witnesses of his resurrection?' "¹⁴

¹²John Wallace Suter, *Life and Letters of William Reed Huntington: A Champion of Unity* (New York and London, 1925) pp. 447-448.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 449.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 449-450

Later in the same year, writing to the Rev. Carroll Perry, under date of November 21, 1906, Dr. Huntington stated the issues most graphically:

"If the faith in the Christ of the Gospels is to be perpetuated, it must be by means of a picture or portrait of Him. This picture or portrait, moreover, must be a verbal one. Throw this word-picture away, and merely speak of One Jesus with no other-world characteristics, no wonder-marks attached to Him, and what we may call the objective of loyalty and devotion presently is vaporized into nothing. Hence the importance which the Church attaches to the Catholic Creed. It is the traditional picture of the Church's Head. If any one says 'I prefer Renan's Christ-picture' or 'I prefer Strauss's Christ-picture to the Church's Christ-picture,' there is nothing to be said. Only such a one must not complain that he is unjustly treated if the Church says to him, 'Having transferred your allegiance to another Christ than the one whom we have enshrined, you can no longer be happy in our company.' A Christ stripped of all the attributes which differentiate the Church's Christ from Plato's righteous man, would hardly persuade me to leave all and follow Him."¹⁸

The perspective of fifty years makes it clear that the first decade of the 20th century was a particularly agonizing one for practically all Christian Churches. In the Roman Catholic Church, this agony revolved around the Modernists, and the very next year, 1907, Pope Pius X issued his encyclical *Pascendi* against Modernism. In the major Protestant denominations, the battle lines between Fundamentalists and Liberals were being tightly drawn. In the Episcopal Church, the major issue was not the acceptance or rejection of Biblical Criticism, but rather, "How far shall interpretation of the Catholic Creeds be allowed to go?" Dr. Huntington and Dr. Manning were in agreement on this fundamental principle:

"Interpretation of the articles of the Christian Faith, as contained in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, shall *not* mean the denial of the eternal verities contained therein."

¹⁸John Wallace Suter, *Life and Letters of William Reed Huntington: A Champion of Unity* (New York and London, p. 455). Other references in Huntington's letters, bearing on the controversy and the issues involved, are to be found in *ibid.*, pp. 456-457, 458-459, 460-461, 494-495.

The Stained-Glass Windows of The Washington Cathedral

By Frank L. Baer*



HE earliest stained-glass windows found in Christian churches date from the early Christian era. Though the pictorial designs are simple and the colors less refined than those achieved by modern craftsmen, their historical importance resides in the fact that stained glass became an architectural component in church design at a time when the great truths of the Christian religion were pictorialized for the people.

The North Transept

Washington Cathedral, which is the sixth of the great world edifices of worship, has many distinctive and eye-taking stained-glass windows, the most colorful of which was made in its own studio under the direction of Lawrence B. Saint. This is the Rose Window in the north transept, a circular design 26 feet in diameter, illustrating the Last Judgment, and made up of 9,000 pieces of stained glass merged to cover 256 square feet. It is the first of three rose windows for the cathedral, the other two to be in the south transept and in the west front, the former to symbolize "The Church Triumphant," and the latter to depict "The Seven Days of Creation."

Just below the north transept Rose Window are three lancet windows presenting six New Testament figures, Saints Matthew, Jude, Peter, Paul, John and Mark. Each window has a predella at the base with six Old Testament figures—Joel, Zechariah, Isaiah, David, Jeremiah and Malachi.

In the east wall of the north transept is a window with two lancets, in which Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, authors of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, are shown in designs by Wilbur H. Burnham and Joseph Reynolds of Boston, Massachusetts. Medallions to these windows portray the laying of the cornerstone of the University of Virginia, a figure bearing the

*Mr. Baer, of Washington, D. C., was formerly director of publicity of the Washington Cathedral.—*Editor's note.*

Torch of Liberty, a United States President taking the oath of office, and a figure symbolizing Democracy.

Also in the east wall is the Florence Nightingale memorial window, designed as a long shield, wherein six medallions picture scenes in the life of this outstanding woman. Beneath this window and within the Parclose arch, are two small stained glass creations designed by Mr. Saint, one of which presents four subjects from the life of Christ in rectangular medallions, the other of which emphasizes Evasion, Treachery, Cowardice and False Reasoning.

A window in the north wall of the west aisle illustrates three epochs in the life of Daniel, as designed by Reynolds, Francis and Rohnstock of Boston. In the west wall is another window designed by Lawrence Saint, showing three epochs in the life of Moses, and adjoining it is a smaller window which depicts Deborah the prophetess, who judged Israel, and Barak, who is ready to sound the horn.

At the clerestory level of the north transept, on the west side, are three large windows which honor the Good Neighbor policy among nations of the world. The theme of the English window nearest the nave is the Book of Common Prayer, with Christ, the mediator, presenting his Church prayers before the throne of the Almighty. The left lancet of this glass is devoted to Morning and Evening Prayer, and the right lancet to the Holy Communion. The central panel is a memorial to the Very Rev. George Carl Fitch Bratenahl, first dean of the Washington Cathedral, and is known as the Canadian window, since it presents the figure of St. Lawrence with the traditional gridiron, the symbol of his martyrdom. The third, or South American window, is a memorial to the Right Rev. James Edward Freeman, third bishop of Washington, and has Simon Bolivar as a central figure, with San Martin of Argentina in the left lancet, and Baron do Rio Branco, Brazilian statesman, in the right.

Christ, the Great Healer, is the dominant figure in the window nearest the Rose in the east clerestory. On his left is Louis Pasteur, and on his right is Sir Wilfred Grenfell of Laborador. In the lower right predella—directly under Sir Wilfred Grenfell—is a country doctor in a buggy drawn by a horse, which is racing an overhead stork bound to the point of impending birth.

The second stained glass in the east clerestory is known as the Law window, since it contains the figures of Alfred the Great, Moses, and Justinian, as champions of the Common Law, of Old Testament law, and of civil law. The third window on this side presents Jesus as a boy

confounding the doctors, together with Plato, St. Paul, Horace Mann, and the Moravian bishop, John Amos Comenius, while just beneath the Rose Window is a small lancet in rich colors depicting the Vision of Jacob (Genesis 28:15), designed by W. H. Burnham as a memorial to Jessie Woodrow Sayre.

The South Transept

The incomplete transept wing south of the crossing contains three east aisle windows accenting as many aspects of the theme: Freedom. The central panel of Christ on the Cross is flanked by a mother and a young soldier, and the medallions of this War Memorial Shrine honor the martyred St. Ignatius and St. Alban, the hero of the Revolutionary War, Nathan Hale, Dr. Jesse Lazear who allowed himself to be bitten by an infected mosquito in a yellow fever test, and the famous four chaplains of World War II's Battle of the Midway.

St. Michael and George Washington are seen in the great glass in the east wall of the south transept, with smaller panels showing Moses leading the children of Israel across the Red Sea to the Promised Land, Martin Luther nailing his ninety-five theses on the Wittenberg Cathedral door, the United States Marines raising the Iwo Jima flag, Lincoln surrounded by freed slaves, and Paul Revere on his celebrated ride.

At the right of this window is a glass memorial to Captain John Upshur Moorhead, with the figures of David as king and Richard the Lion-Hearted. Overhead medallions contain figures of Nehemiah and Elijah, the landing of the Pilgrims, William Penn at an Indian peace council, a World War II tank riding out of a landing craft, and Liberation forces marching through a French town. The lancet heads are the Statue of Liberty and the Freedom figure of the United States Capitol dome.

In the Cathedral Baptistry, the first bay in the west aisle of the south transept has two windows over the font illustrating the theme, the sacrament of Holy Baptism. The south wall window presents the Baptism of Christ in a most unusual and dramatic interpretation—demons are seen clinging to the edge of His tunic, while overhead the dark and ominous sky is broken by but a single ray of brilliant light. The seven medallions of the window symbolize the principal parts of the Baptismal service, and depict St. Paul and the vision of the man from Macedonia, Christ talking to Nicodemus by night, a group of disciples at Pentecost, the woman taken in adultery, Christ turning his back on the devil, and St. Peter confessing at Caesarea Phillipi.

The inscription, "In Thanksgiving to God for the life of Rachel O'Fon and Edward Davies," on the second window above the font refers to the parents of its donor, Joseph E. Davies, former diplomat and philanthropist. Christ in the central lancet is giving seven disciples the command "Go ye into all the world and baptize." These figures are not traditionally Biblical, but have been drawn from ancient, medieval and modern times. One beholds St. Philip baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch, the baptism of Constantine, St. Francis Xavier baptizing in Japan, St. Columba in Iona, Bishop Brent in the Philippines, a canon of the Washington Cathedral baptizing a child in the Children's Chapel, and the Rev. Thomas Mayhew on Martha's Vineyard with the first Indian baptized in the United States. Worked into the border of this window are the traditional symbols of baptism, scallop shell and water, together with symbols of the Church of Wales to indicate the ancestry of Mr. Davies' commemorated parents. Three of the larger quatrefoils at the head of the window represent Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

In the second bay of the west aisle of the south transept, the double-lancet window memorializes Margot de Zuberbuhler, daughter of Ambassador and Mrs. George A. Garrett. The subject of the glass is the raising of Jairus' daughter, and is the work of Evie Hone of Dublin, who designed many of the windows at Eton College.

The Nave

Now under construction, the nave of the cathedral will rise to a height of 104 feet above the marble pavement, and the height of the inner aisles will be 45 feet. The nave will have nine bays, the first two of which are now in use. On the north and south sides there will be three tiers of windows: eight on either side of the clerestory, eight upper aisle windows on each side, and fifteen and thirteen outer aisle windows on the north and south sides respectively. These windows will portray the course and continuity of Christian history, and in them will be presented an historic panorama of men and women of all ages, including the present, whose achievements have been a part of the growth of Christian faith.

One of the aisle windows, depicting the story of St. Joan of Arc and designed by Mr. Burnham, is already in place. The young saint stands in the center in armor, over which is a blue robe embroidered with fleur-de-lis. In the side lancet windows, Joan is seen kneeling in her garden listening to the voice promising "God will help Thee," and again kneeling in Rheims Cathedral at the coronation of King Charles

VII. The lower panels symbolize the battle of Orleans, with Joan mounted on a white horse.

In the first of the outer aisle chantries is the "Universal Peace" window, a memorial to the late Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State and Ambassador to the Court of St. James. One panel shows the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, and another depicts soldiers turning their swords into plowshares.

Windows in the Chancel

In the sanctuary are two windows, designed by Earl Edward Sanborn, which carry out the theme of the entire east end of the cathedral, interpreting the "Te Deum Laudamus" from the service of Morning Prayer. Both are 65 feet high. The one in the north wall presents the Apostles, the Prophets and the Martyrs, and the one in the south wall illustrates "The Holy Church Throughout All the World Doth Acknowledge Thee."

Just above the high altar in the apse are three windows representative of three more verses from the "Te Deum"—the Crucifixion, Christ in Glory, and Christ as our Judge. Joseph Reynolds and Wilbur H. Burnham designed these windows, which were presented to the cathedral as a memorial to Josephine Wheelwright Rust.

The Angel windows in the choir were designed by Burnham, Sanborn and Saint. The Angel of the Annunciation dominates the first one on the south side at the west end of the choir, with Gabriel, Hannah and the Blessed Mother in the lancets. On the north side of the choir are five windows, the Angel of the Garden of Eden, Jacob wrestling with the Angel, the Angels of Deliverance, the Angels of the Resurrection, and the Angels from the Book of the Revelation of St. John, the Divine.

Windows in the Chapels

In the Chapel of St. Mary are three stained-glass windows which were made in the Washington Cathedral Studio under direction of Lawrence B. Saint, the first productions of this special department which the cathedral maintained for several years. They are medallion in form, and portray twenty-one of the Parables of Jesus.

The window to the west illustrates seven parables: the Leaven, the Sower, the Tares, the Mustard Seed, the Hidden Treasure, the Goodly Pearl, and the Drag Net.

In the central window are the Rich Fool, the Pharisee and the Publican, the Good Samaritan, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Fig Tree, the Unmerciful Servant, and the Unjust Steward.

The western-most window treats the Lost Coin, the Lost Sheep, the Ten Virgins, the Marriage of the King's Son, the Prodigal Son, the Labourers in the Vineyard, and the Great Supper.

Mr. Saint designed these windows to admit a maximum of light through pale areas which surround the medallions, and the treatment is a modern adaptation of the style of English 14th century glass.

Four windows by Mr. Saint in the Chapel of St. John comprise twenty-seven medallions, in which are presented twenty-three of the miracles of Jesus. Two aspects in the artistry of these windows fascinate the eye—their extraordinary human figures, and their marvelous colors. In no two windows is the glass matched in the same pattern. Each design is distinct from the others. Where two medallions are devoted to a single story, Jesus is seen in both.

In the window farthest west are the Syro-Phoenician Woman, the Centurion's Servant, Simon's Wife's Mother Healed, the Marriage in Cana, Healing of the Demoniac in the Synagogue, and the Feeding of the Five Thousand.

The window second from the west includes Christ with Two Fishermen, Jesus Walking on the Sea, Christ Asleep in the Boat, Christ and the Fig Tree, Christ and St. Peter on or by the Sea, St. Peter Walking on the Sea, Christ in the Boat with the Disciples, and Healing of the Man with Dropsy.

In the window third from the west are the Healing of Blind Bartimaeus, the Paralytic, the Healing of the Ear of the Servant of the High Priest, the Healing of the Man Deaf and Dumb, the Healing of the Man at the Pool of Bethesda, and the Healing of the Woman with the Issue of Blood. The window nearest the altar embraces Lazarus being raised from the Dead, the Healing of the Daughter of Jairus, the Healing of the Man with the Withered Hand, the Healing of the Young Man of Nain, and the Healing of the Man Born Blind.

In the Chapel of the Holy Spirit, a single glass panel depicts the conversation between Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the well. It is the work of Nicholas D'Ascenzo of Philadelphia, and has a warm flame-like quality of color that captivates all visitors to the chapel.

Henry Lee Willet of Philadelphia designed the window in the Children's Chapel, which shows the child Samuel and the boy David. This window, as well as the chapel itself, were gifts of Roland T. Taylor

and his wife of Philadelphia in memory of their son, Leslie, who died when he was six years old. Mr. Willet designed another cathedral window for the crypt, the Good Shepherd window, given by Misses Gertrude and Mildred Stokes. The central Shepherd figure is most compelling, and beneath it is David with his harp. Joseph Reynolds designed the "Resurrection" window of the crypt, employing as subjects the angel at the tomb and the women bearing spices. Just south of Bethlehem Chapel are four windows designed by Walter Tower of Kempe and Company of London, to represent prophecies and promises regarding the coming of Christ. A small lancet shows St. John the Evangelist with a chalice, and bears the inscription: "The word was made flesh and dwelt among us" (St. John 1:14). Five north aisle windows present the prophets Samuel, David, Daniel, Malachi, and John the Baptist. The Bethlehem Chapel entrance for choir and clergy has the beautiful Magnificat window, representing the Visitation of the Virgin Mary to Elizabeth.

Around the Bethlehem Chapel altar there is a series of windows representing scenes on the birth of Christ. Mr. Tower of London designed these for George B. Cluett of Troy, New York, who made the gift to the cathedral. They include the Genealogical window, showing the human ancestors of Jesus (Adam, Eve, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Ruth, Hesse and David), the Gloria in Excelsis window, with the angel proclaiming the Saviour's birth to the shepherds, the Annunciation window with angel groups holding a great curtain back of the Mother of Jesus and the Angel Gabriel, the Epiphany window depicting the presentation of the gifts by the Magi, and the Nunc Dimittis window depicting Simeon's acknowledgement of the Holy Child as the glory of Israel and the light of the Gentiles.

In the ante-chapel of the Chapel of the Resurrection in the crypt, grille Memorial Gate two small windows designed by Mr. Burnham. The small lancet facing the gate represents Music, and contains a quotation from the Hundredth Psalm: "Serve the Lord with Gladness, and come before His Presence with a song."

In the ante-chapel of the Chapel of the Resurrection in the crypt, and under the south transept, are three windows based on the theme of the empty tomb before the actual resurrection appearances of Christ—Mary running back from the tomb with the spices in hand, the Beloved Disciple emerging from the tomb, and the angel at the tomb.

These Washington Cathedral windows are examples of great craftsmanship and great art. Their designers are among the finest of the

world, and many of the windows match the productions of the 13th century, although the processes involved in their creation have changed since the great days of Gothic construction. Glass is a beautiful medium and a sensitive one, and it does its work only when light falls through it. The glass window designer uses this light as a composer uses sound, and directs it by expert color arrangements that interplay as light and weather change with the seasons.

Making of Stained-Glass Windows

Although glass staining and glass painting are two separate processes, they must be grouped, since they have been used together since the 13th century. Medieval glass-making called for use of twelve to eighteen elements. Glass in French and English cathedrals called for sand, alumina, lime, magnesium, soda, potash, copper, manganese, barium, cobalt, lead, titanium, borax sulphuric anhydride, phosphoric anhydride, and tin as chemical elements of production. Many of these elements were not known under these names to the medieval craftsmen, but these artisans used practically all of them, even though, in so using, the elements contained impurities, but not in a measure to cause damaging results.

Formulas for Washington Cathedral stained glass are compounded with great care, and when new colors are attempted, the measuring and mixing of ingredients require the highest of skills. The furnace charge is a greyish sand-like powder, which has been sieved through one-fourth and one-eighth-inch meshes. "Cullet," or small pieces of old glass, is added to the powder just before the melting process begins.

Clay crucibles, usually of German make, are placed on the sanded floor of the firebrick furnace and brought to a bright heat before receiving the charge. Gradually the heat is increased from 2,100 to 2,400 degrees Fahrenheit. As the mixture settles in the pot, additional powder is poured in. The entire melting process requires from six to seven hours after the first charge has been made.

The molten liquid is then gathered in small quantities on a blow pipe, to be blown and spun into discs or roundels. The glassblower, working at a high speed because the glass cools rapidly, twists the blow pipe and rolls it along the arms of his specially constructed workchair during the shaping process. Now and then he reheats the substance on the pipe in a special furnace called the "glory hole." Altogether it takes only about a minute for the blower to transform a blob of glowing liquid

first into a globe, then into a dish-shaped object, and finally into a circular disc, which he places in the *lehr* for annealing. Here it remains for eighteen hours under a gradually reduced heat to eliminate excessive brittleness.

The complete disc or roundel measures 11 to 14 inches in diameter, and ranges in thickness from $3/16$ to $1/8$ of an inch. Variations give glass peculiar depths of tone, and act to blend light rays in diverging and converging lines.

Colors are produced by metallic oxides. Gold, selenium or copper gives red glass. Iron for green, cobalt for blue, magnesium for purple tints, and uranium and cadmium, with small amounts of carbon added, produce the yellows.

If the blower is making sheet glass, he blows the blob on the end of his pipe into a long bladder-like cylinder, the rounded ends of which are removed by a flame cutter. This cylinder, with open ends, is about two feet long and six to eight inches in diameter, is annealed in a gas-fired oven, then cut lengthwise and reheated until soft, at which time it opens into a flat sheet. After five hours in another *lehr*, the sheet is annealed and ready for shipment to a stained glass studio.

If the proper colors have been achieved, the glass can be cut according to full-scale drawings of the windows. The making of such drawings requires great art, great precision, since they are the finished patterns to be followed by the glaziers. Hundreds of pieces of stained glass are cut from these designs by using steel and diamond tools.

After the many pieces of glass are assembled, the window in the making is painted with a special paint made from a fine powdered glass. The goal is brilliancy, which comes only through the transfusion of light. In a majority of stained-glass windows, the paint is used to mark features of faces, drapery folds, and certain lines that cannot be clearly indicated by color. After being painted, the pieces of glass are baked in a kiln to fuse the paint to the glass and insure permanence. Sometimes a double baking is necessary. The pieces are cooled and grooved together by lead. The whole window pattern is then supported by irons, which not only subdivide the window as to design, but prevent any bulging that comes from temperature changes. The iron bars and supporting parts are treated by the designer in such a way as to become meshed into the window's artistry. The lead strips are soldered at the joints, and a putty-like composition of black is rubbed into the interstices between the lead and the glass to stiffen them and achieve air and water tightness.

Book Reviews

I. American Church History and Biography

Modern Canterbury Pilgrims. Edited by James A. Pike. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1956. \$3.85.

The Roman Catholic Church, as we all know full well, has a genius for publicity, especially in the matter of converts. Let an Anglican priest, a Communist, or a Hollywood star enter the Roman fold, and there ensues a great blare of trumpets and a ruffle of drums. And then, so, so frequently, the convert takes the world into his confidence, and writes a spiritual Odyssey. The number of such volumes is legion, and all suffer from the fact that the job was done once and supremely by John Henry Newman.

Although the Episcopal Church is, par excellence, a Church of converts, we have been much more reticent about the matter. *Modern Canterbury Pilgrims* is almost the first attempt to let converts to the Anglican Communion tell their story in print. In this volume, Dean Pike, himself a convert, has assembled twenty-two pilgrims—the title itself has a touch of genius—and has let each one speak for himself. One of the notable things about the volume is the diversity of backgrounds from which the pilgrims have come. One began as a Swedenborgian, one as a Mennonite, one a Brahman, one a Jew, four were Roman Catholics, three Methodists, three Congregationalists, three were secularists. And all are men of real intellectual stature.

Diverse though the essays are, various as the reasons why each author found his way to Canterbury, they share one characteristic—a total absence of bitterness, of recrimination. The quiet reasonableness, which marks Anglicanism at its best, seems to pervade this volume. The ex-Jesuit and the ex-Brahman, the labor leader and the atomic scientist, the psychoanalyst and the professor of English—all seem to have learned on the road the lesson of charity. Here is propaganda at its best.

GEORGE E. DEMILLE.

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The Present State of Virginia. By Hugh Jones. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Richard L. Morton. Published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1956. 295 pp. \$5.00.

Three clergymen of the Church of England by the name of Hugh Jones appeared in colonial Maryland and, following the work of the Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen, many writers have confused these men. In previous issues of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* and the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, the Rev. Doctors Brydon, Leswing and I have separated them as follows: HUGH JONES (1) was incumbent of Christ Church, Calvert County, Maryland, 1695-1702, and died in the latter year. HUGH JONES (2) became rector of the same parish in 1702, but remained for one year only. We have correspondence between him and the brother of his predecessor who lived in Wales. HUGH JONES (3), the author of the present work under discussion, was professor of mathematics in William and Mary College, 1717-1725; minister of St. Stephen's Parish, King and Queen County, Virginia, 1726; incumbent of William and Mary Parish, Charles County, Maryland, 1726-1731; and incumbent of St. Stephen's Parish, Cecil County, Maryland, 1731-1760.

Hugh Jones (3) was a typical product of the Age of Enlightenment; he was not only a priest of the Church of England with its attendant interests, but he was also interested in geology, scientific farming, speculations on anthropological matters, and education. He was called upon by Lord Baltimore as a mathematical expert when the boundaries of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were in dispute between the Penns and the Calverts. His explanation of the meaning of the famous circle around New Castle, Delaware, is indeed ingenious.

The Present State of Virginia has long been unavailable to more than a few scholars in widely separated places; even Sabine's reprint of 1865 has become a rarity, and Dr. Morton is to be commended not only for reprinting the text, but more especially for the great care with which he has gathered so much material on the life of the author. Other clergymen mentioned in the text of *The Present State of Virginia* are also well documented, although the editor does not appear to be familiar with the material on colonial clergymen which has appeared over the past seven years in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.

A number of works similar to *The Present State of Virginia* were published during the colonial period; one might almost call them "the immigrant's handbook, or what to expect when you settle there." All of the colonies were anxious to induce settlers to their territories, and the man who could write a handy book which would induce immigrants to settle was not only sure of the sale of his work, but also of the approbation of those in high places. *The Present State of Virginia* is such a work.

Scholars will be grateful to Dr. Morton for making available this picture of Virginia in 1725; undoubtedly his notes will provide a handy reference to much of our knowledge of colonial America.

NELSON W. RIGHTMYER.

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Glyndon, Maryland.*



More Lay Readers Than Clergy: A Study of the Office of Lay Reader, in the History of the Church. By Walter H. Stowe. Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1956. 50 cents.

Beginning with the year 1951, for the first time in the history of the Episcopal Church, there are more lay readers than there are clergymen. Dr. Stowe has explained the situation, which to us in England sounds alarming, and gives an outline of the rise of lay readers in the history of the Church.

The very gratifying growth of the Episcopal Church has caused an urgent need for more clergy, a need greater than could be met. In the days of the colonial Church, there was a serious shortage of clergy. In the days of the Revolution, the Church was on the verge of shipwreck, owing to the same distressing fact. Then came the much more rapid growth in Church membership. During the fifty years from 1832 to 1883, the number of dioceses more than doubled and almost trebled—from 18 to 48—with consequent growth in the number of parishes to be manned. The number of communicants increased more than tenfold, and the number of baptisms in nearly the same proportion. The five-fold increase in the number of the clergy was insufficient to man the Church's posts. Hence, the calling in of lay help to meet an unparalleled situation.

Up until the General Convention of 1871, the canons restricted lay readers to candidates for holy orders. That Convention opened the office to a "Lay Communicant." The laity are thus being brought into partnership as never before. They are being made to realize the necessity of evangelism and of shepherding their fellows—a need which cannot be met by the clergy alone.

The Church, too, is being forced to realize the need of special training for lay readers, and Dr. Stowe urges training schools for lay readers, each "under the direct supervision of the bishop" (p. 28).

"The Church cannot afford to neglect an agency of such current importance, and one that can be potentially of even greater importance" (p. 29).

This brochure contains five valuable tables:

- I. Growth of the Episcopal Church by Decades, 1790-1880:
Part A—Dioceses and Clergy.
Part B—Communicants and Civil Population in Continental United States.
- II. Number of Ordinations in the Episcopal Church by Decades, 1790-1950. (This information is not known to exist elsewhere in this tabular form.)
- III. Number of Clergy and Lay Readers, 1868-1952:
Part A—By Trienniums, 1868-1910.
Part B—By Decades, 1890-1950.
- IV. Comparison of the Numbers of Clergy and Lay Readers, with Net Increases, 1900-1950.

V. The Lay Readers of the Church by Provinces, as of December 31, 1952.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*



The Episcopal Church Annual, 1956. Edited by Clifford P. Morehouse. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1956. Pp. 510+A-151.

This indispensable publication records several "all time highs" for the American Episcopal Church, as of January 1, 1955:

		Increase over Preceding Year
CHURCH MEMBERS (Baptized Persons) ..	3,103,570	106,249
COMMUNICANTS	1,865,915	49,379
(Of whom 84,653 are Foreign)		
CLERGY	7,573	206
CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS	677	11
LAY READERS	9,545	919
CHURCH SCHOOLS:		
Teachers	80,819	4,958
Pupils	696,028	17,093
TOTAL RECEIPTS	\$131,354,945.	\$13,596,797.

CONFIRMATIONS for the year ending December 31, 1954, totalled 113,443, the largest number in any one year to date, and an increase of 9,429 over the preceding year.

There were, however, *some declines* from high records formerly achieved:

POSTULANTS: The high point was January 1, 1952, with 1,246 on the books of the bishops of the Church. Since then, declines have been in order, as follows:

1953	1,204
1954	1,195
1955	1,182

Is this trend going to continue? If so, it is a serious matter for the future welfare and growth of this Church.

ORDINATIONS: The high point in this category was the year ending December 31, 1953, when 418 deacons and 388 priests were ordained. The following year witnessed some recession in both orders: 415 deacons, and 354 priests.

BAPTISMS: The year ending December 31, 1953, was also the record for this category: a total of 121,463. The year 1954 had 90 fewer baptisms—not necessarily alarming.

MARRIAGES: The high point in number of marriages was for the year ending December 31, 1942, with its total of 41,970. In 1946, the total was 40,694. Since then, the number of marriages has been declining steadily, and the total for the year ending December 31, 1954, was only 24,789—a number exceeded by every year of the Depression Thirties except the years 1932 and 1933.

One explanation for this is that there are not, right now, as many of marriageable age as formerly, due to the low birth rate in the Thirties. Those born in that decade are normally being married now. The high birth rate of the 1940's is not likely to be maintained during the 1950's.

BURIALS: The record year for burials by ministers of the Episcopal Church (including lay readers) was 1928, with its total of 57,517. The year 1941 was a close second with 57,486. For thirty years it has recorded total burials of 50,000 and more each year. The number of the year ending December 31, 1954, was 53,114—a decline of 1,679 over the preceding year.

The editorial in this edition is largely an illuminating appraisal of the General Convention of 1955, presumably by the editor who was also chairman of the Committee on the Dispatch of Business in the House of Deputies. The reference to the 350th anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, 1607-1957, is most welcome, but there is an error of fact in it. The first *recorded* Eucharist celebrated by the Rev. Robert Hunt at Jamestown was not on May 14, 1607, but on the Third Sunday after Trinity, June 21st.

The editorial ends on a challenging note:

"We think the Church has a tremendous opportunity for advance in 1956, and in the years to follow. But there is always that important word 'if', of which the Program and Budget Committee reminded us at General Convention:

'We are on the verge of a great missionary advance, if the home Church can be alerted to its opportunities.'

"It is the task of each one of us to turn that 'if' into a reality."

WALTER H. STOWE.



AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES

By DuBOSE MURPHY, *Associate Editor*

"Proposals for Promoting Religion and Literature in Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," by JOHN M. NORRIS, in the *Canadian Historical Review*, December, 1955, pp. 335-340, throws light upon the early history of the Anglican Church north of the border. Before the American Revolution, little had been done to strengthen the Church in Canada. But "the migration of the Loyalists changed the attitude

of the British government to the problem. A people, predominantly of the Anglican faith, who had suffered for Church and King, made demands for support which the authorities could not ignore." Glebe lands were set aside in many localities, and in 1787 Charles Inglis was consecrated first bishop of Nova Scotia with jurisdiction over all Canada.

A document, bearing the same title as that of the present article, recently found among the Liverpool papers in the British Museum, was evidently prepared as an attempt to influence the English Cabinet and Parliament. It was addressed to Charles Jenkinson, later earl of Liverpool, and was probably written by William Knox under date of April 3, 1786. It urged the granting of land for the support of the Anglican clergy, and strongly advocated the consecration of a bishop. It concluded with the statement that if the Church of England had taken such measures on behalf of the American colonies, "the Thirteen dismembered Provinces would now be firmly united to Great Britain."

The library of the New York Historical Society has received from Mrs. Richard C. Hunt two juvenile letters and manuscripts of five poems from the pen of her great-grandfather, the Rev. CLEMENT CLARKE MOORE. The letters and one of the poems are published in *The New York Historical Society Quarterly*, October, 1955, pp. 417-421, with editorial introduction by R. W. G. VAIL.

The Pacific Historical Review, November 1955, published an article (pp. 361-368) by WILLIAM HANCHETT on "The Blue Law Gospel in Gold Rush California." By "Blue Law Gospel" the author means the attempt to enforce by law some of the "codes of social behavior laid down by the Churches." In California there was inevitable conflict between such codes and the rugged and uproarious ways of the mining camps. Proper observance of Sunday became a symbol of this whole program as fostered by the evangelical Churches of California. "By 1853 petitions and remonstrances were pouring in upon the legislature from all parts of the state demanding legal action against Sabbath breaking." A Sabbath observance law was passed in 1855, and an even stricter statute in 1858. But law and order came to California quite as much the result of the arrival of wives and families and a general settling down of the frontier, as on account of the preachers of the Blue Law Gospel.

The California Historical Society Quarterly, December, 1955, has a "Note on Twain and Rising," (pp. 317-322) by ANDREW FOREST MUIR, which enlarges upon a subject mentioned by the same author in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XXIV (December, 1955), pp. 366-399. Mark Twain and the Rev. Mr. Rising became acquainted in Virginia City, Nevada, and Rising made a brief appearance in Twain's *Roughing It*. Their paths crossed later in Hawaii, and the two men returned to the United States on the same vessel in the summer of 1866.

ALFRED A. WEINSTEIN contributes an article on "John Wesley, Physician and Apothecary" to the *Georgia Review*, Spring, 1956, pp.

48-54. In addition to his extensive evangelistic work, John Wesley devoted a great deal of time to the study and practise of healing. In 1746, he wrote: "For more than twenty years I have numberless proof that regular physicians do exceeding little good. I have therefore believed it my duty within the last four months to prescribe for between six and seven hundred of the poor in this city, medicine I knew was proper." This activity continued throughout Wesley's long life. He had little faith in the average physician or apothecary, and denounced the prevailing methods of treatment such as bleeding, blistering and purging. In the local Methodist Societies, he included "visitors of the sick" among the officers to be chosen, and set up out-patient clinics in London and Bristol. As might be expected, he strongly urged prayer, temperance and regular physical exercise as the prerequisites to good health. His preaching, writing and personal ministry "exerted an enormous influence on the practise of medicine throughout the United Kingdom."

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1956 (pp. 621-652) contains a study entitled, "The Heart of New England Rent—The Mystical Element in Early Puritan History," by JAMES FULTON MACLEAR. The mystical side of Puritanism has been too long obscured by the overshadowing interest in its political and intellectual history. The Puritanism which came to New England in 1630 had been nurtured in England where there was unavoidable tension between the outward determination to achieve a church and a state exactly conformed to the Biblical pattern, and "the deep emotional longings for personal encounter and direct communion with God." But with the establishment of the Puritan commonwealth in the new world, the external problem was being solved. Then the inner longing burst out afresh in forms of antinomianism which denied the usefulness and the validity of laws, forms of government and ordinances of worship. One of the leaders in this "spiritual revolt" was Anne Hutchinson, who proclaimed herself directly inspired and authorized to speak in the name of the Lord. She and her disciples became openly anti-clerical; but the well established forces of orthodoxy prevailed, and Mrs. Hutchinson was exiled. This emphasis on first-hand experience and spirit-mysticism did much to prepare the way for the Quakers, who found in Rhode Island a haven of refuge after they, like Mrs. Hutchinson, had been driven out of Boston. In 1674, William Coddington wrote of "the seed of God that did serve him in Spirit then called Puritanism, now called Quakers."

"A Social Gospel Minister and his Bishop: an Incident in the History of Intellectual Freedom," by DAVID A. SHANNON in *New York History*, January, 1956, pp. 64-79, brings back memories of a controversy which for a time stirred the Protestant Episcopal Church. In January, 1923, the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant, rector of the Church of the Ascension, New York, preached a sermon on the topic "Shall we consecrate churches?" The sermon was reported in the *Times* and the *World*, arousing wide attention. Some sentences in it reflected the preacher's doubts as to Apostolic Succession, New Testament

miracles, and the Divinity of Christ. The Rt. Rev. William T. Manning, bishop of New York, was disturbed by the newspaper reports, and, after personal conference with Dr. Grant, wrote an "Open Letter" to Grant, which he also released to the press. From then on, the controversy attracted considerable attention, with "open letters" and public statements by both clergymen, and with editorial comments in many papers, secular as well as religious. Dr. Grant's avowed liberal stand on economic and social issues, during the years preceding 1923, had won him many friends and as many enemies. And in the theological controversy, supporters and opponents divided along much the same lines. But there was no ecclesiastical trial; Dr. Grant did not resign, although ill health forced him to retire from active ministry a couple of years later; and the whole episode passed into history.



II. English and General Church History

The Churchman's Heritage: A Study in the Ethos of the English Church. By E. G. Knapp-Fisher. Greenwich, Conn. The Seabury Press. Pp. 96. \$2.25.

The Seabury Press has done well to make available to American readers this admirable exposition and interpretation of the genius and ethos of our Mother Church of England by the principal of Cuddesdon Theological College. Beginning each chapter with one or more quotations from the Elizabethan and Caroline Divines or from the great Nonjurors, Ken and Law, Fr. Knapp-Fisher delineates the Anglican combination of essential Catholicity and moderate but uncompromising Protestantism which so often perplexes not only the outsider but also those who are within our Communion. He adduces as an admirable epitome of the history of the English Reformation the story of the verger who was showing a party of Roman Catholics around one of the English cathedrals. When one of the party remarked, "You know, this used to belong to us," the verger, not at all nonplussed, replied "Yes, and it would still if you had behaved yourselves."

Dealing with the Church as "National and Established," our author goes along with the late Archbishop of York, as favoring establishment "retained in a form so modified as to free the Church to worship, to work, and to witness more effectively."

The chapters on "Ministry" and "Liturgy" are choice summaries of the traditional and classic Anglican position with regard to each. Fr. Knapp-Fisher maintains that the sacramental and organizational views of episcopacy are not necessarily mutually exclusive, provided the organizational be recognized as subordinate to the sacramental.

"Episcopacy is essential because it is part of God's design for His Church, and therefore indispensable to the fulness of its life and health."

In an excellent chapter on "Authority," our author shows why the English Church rejected alike the infallible authoritarianism of Rome and the near antinomianism of the Puritans.

"Authority must always be the handmaid of truth; but only an authority which recognizes its own limitations can remain in truth's service." "Our conception of authority, in fact, is not coercive but persuasive."

William Law is quoted from his letters to Hoadly as pulverizing the latter's assertion that the freedom of the laity was jeopardized by the discipline of the Church. Our author justifies on grounds of charity the retention in the Church of those who in point of doctrine, discipline, or morality, sometimes seem to put themselves completely beyond the pale.

The final chapter on "Vocation" is a re-statement and justification of the "Via Media" of Anglicanism. John Donne is quoted as approving as a model Anglican one who "never diverted towards the Papist in undervaluing the Scriptures; nor towards the Separatist in undervaluing the Church." Fully recognizing that the "moderation" of Anglicanism has dangers and defects of its own, our author holds that it can and does produce authentic saints—and he proves his point by citing the names of many of the worthies, clerical and lay, male and female, who flourished during the century or so following the Reformation Settlement.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



English Thought (1860-90), The Theological Aspect. By L. E. Elliott-Binns. The Seabury Press, Greenwich. \$7.00.

The Victorian Age is coming back into fashion. At the end of three decades, during which to call a man, a thing, or an idea, "Victorian," was to damn it completely, we are suddenly discovering that our grandfathers did have some brains after all. The volume under review is a significant symptom of the revival of interest in Victorian thought.

This is as it should be. The historian of the future, I venture to prophesy, will rank the Victorian Age with the fourth, the thirteenth, and the sixteenth centuries, as one of the great seminal periods in Christian thinking. This is obviously the belief of Dr. Elliott-Binns, who writes to prove that "the nineteenth century was a period of vast and profound changes in all departments of life and thought, and none was without its effect upon religion and theology."

Readers of Dr. Elliott-Binns's earlier volumes, *Religion in the Victorian Era*, and *The Early Evangelicals*, will recognize his competence to deal with this type of subject. He is a thorough scholar, whose reading goes far beyond the limits of strictly theological studies. He is careful, impartial, cool-headed. These are essential qualities in one who attempts to deal with such a revolutionary period.

After surveying carefully the position of Anglican theology in 1860, Dr. Elliott-Binns proceeds to trace in great detail the impact of the revolutionary forces—natural science, philosophy, historical studies, and Biblical studies—on what passed for orthodoxy at the beginning of the period. He sums up ably the chief thinkers in each of these departments, and coolly assesses their contributions. One of the most interesting and unexpected of his chapters is entitled "The Influence of Literature." It was essential that this should be written, for the Victorian writers were the prophets of their day, as the writers of today are not, and nearly all of them dealt with religion as a major topic.

The one defect of the book, and it is a defect inseparable from its good qualities, is a certain failure to stress the drama of the period. The drama is there, but our author is so careful to preserve his detachment, to avoid taking sides, that the careless reader might well miss the profound nature of the changes recorded. But this is not a book for the careless reader. It is an essential book for any one who wants to understand thoroughly the Anglican Communion of today.

GEORGE E. DEMILLE.

*Diocesan House,
Diocese of Albany,
New York.*



This Church of Christ: An Examination of Certain Presuppositions in "The Historic Episcopate." By A. L. Peck, M.A., Ph.D. London. A. R. Mowbray & Co. Limited. 1955. Pp. 104. \$3.75. (Also published by Morehouse-Gorham Co., New York, \$1.90).

This book is directly relevant to the current discussions on the Church of South India and its relation to the Anglican Communion, which our General Convention would have the Church study during the current triennium. The author, who is a fellow and librarian of Christ's College, Cambridge, is both trenchant and merciless in the logic which he applies to the presuppositions of the seven essayists who, under the editorship of Kenneth M. Carey, wrote *The Historic Episcopate in the Fulness of the Church* (Dacre Press, 1954). That book he regards as an *ad hoc* composition, disregarding the larger issues of reunion.

The aforesaid essayists, as readers of their book will recall, discussed the timeworn question whether episcopacy is of the *esse* or *bene esse* of the Church, and arrived at what they conceived to be a unifying formula lifting the old controversy to a new level. The historic episcopate, they concluded, is of the *plene esse* of the Church.

Dr. Peck will have none of this. He challenges the conception of the Church which underlies it, as if the Church could attain to full stature and perfection by acquiring an organ which we know it has possessed for the better part of 2,000 years. Non-episcopal communities are not in an adolescent stage, awaiting the attainment of the episcopate. It isn't that they have lost, or failed to have, the episcopate. The fact is, they rejected it.

If we are to speak of the Church in metaphors, let us speak of it as a Family, in which each individual Christian is still an individual (not a limb or "member" of a body). The episcopate must be thought of in personal terms.

"The bishop is the personal representative of the personal Christ, the vicarious father of the heavenly Father; and . . . throughout the course of history there is this succession of persons to assure each successive generation of the personal activity of Christ through His Spirit for the work of man's salvation." "Episcopacy" has all the 'scandal of particularity' of the Incarnation itself . . . indeed, if we do not believe that 'episcopacy' is part of God's revelation and necessary to salvation, it is impossible to see what justification there can be for making so much of it." "The hypothesis that the episcopate is intended by God to be the source and safeguard of unity has considerable support in the observed facts; and he would be a rash man who would venture . . . to suggest that the right course is to aim first and directly at unity."

Dr. Peck scorns the suggestion that it is uncharitable to "unchurch" non-episcopal bodies. The fact that God's blessing has rested upon these groups and upon their ministries proves, not that episcopacy is not of the *esse* of the Church, but that God is good, and can bring good out of evil. He concludes that most of our discussions of reunion are futile, and that reunion will be the result of repentance and not of negotiation.

"We have the clear commands; let us obey them, each in our several rooms, and one day the walls of partition in our Father's house will be seen to have crumbled away."

We have given the general argument of the book largely in Dr. Peck's own words. It is well to have a book which challenges so uncompromisingly the sentimentalism, lack of realism, and loose thinking of many of our "approaches to unity," even if at times the author seems to overstate his case and to employ logic which is not only brilliant but brittle. We believe he has put his finger unerringly on the crux of the matter when he describes the Church in terms of a Family and

the episcopate in personal terms. What is needed is to develop these ideas in terms so cogent, and yet so irenic, as to win general assent.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



Dean Colet and His Theology. By Ernest William Hunt. London, SPCK., 1956, ix+142 pages. Price, 30 shillings.

This book is not a biography of the great dean (c.1467-1519) of St. Paul's (1504-1519) and friend of Erasmus, but a study of his theological opinions. It has an axe to grind—namely, to attempt to show that the commonly-held view of Colet as a "liberal," after the fashion of Seebohm's famous work, *The Oxford Reformers*, is in error.

It cannot be said that Mr. Hunt succeeds in his objective. He does indeed demonstrate that Colet's theology, as theology, was pretty much that of his time; but he is bound to allow for a different *slant*, which makes Colet what he has always been: one who interpreted the faith as did Erasmus, who protested against medieval complications, and who sought for the "simplicity of Christ."

With this *caveat*, it should also be said that while not a work of profound or detailed scholarship (there is, for example, very little checking of the sources, etc.), this book is a fascinating account of Colet as an exegete, a preacher, a teacher, a theological writer, and a mystic. The most valuable part of the little book is its extended series of quotations from the dean, some of them quaint and charming, some very profound, some filled with indignation at the stupidities, cupidities, and superstitions of the Church of his time, and all of them deeply and beautifully Christian in spirit.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*



Juliana of Norwich, An Introductory Appreciation and an Interpretative Anthology. By P. Franklin Chambers. New York, Harper, 1955. Pp. 224. \$2.75.

This is a lovely little book. In 1953, St. Julian's Church, Norwich, England, where the Lady Julian, or Juliana, perhaps the most attractive of the English mystics, lived over 500 years ago, was rebuilt as a shrine

(after its bombing in 1942) under the care of the Community of All Hallows, Ditchingham. At a general meeting on the eve of the rededication, a Nonconformist minister, who has long been a student and lover of the Lady Juliana's writings, delivered a commemorative address. This is now published in an enlarged form, with an Anthology classifying the Lady Juliana's "Revelations," as "Experiential," "Evangelical," and "Mystical." The book is a charming tribute to one of the glorious figures in English Christianity, the clear-sighted woman who saw the world as God sees it and knew that in him "all shall be well, and all shall be very well." The Anthology must include the greater part of the "Revelations of Divine Love"; but I hope will still lead the reader to the sharper impact of the original in Dame Juliana's order. The "Appreciation" contains some interesting new points, one the evidence from the oldest MS that the "Shewings" were not an experience of the cell, but rather Juliana's call at home, later meditated on its tranquillity at St. Julian's.

E. R. HARDY.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*



Early Christian Interpretations of History (The Bampton Lectures of 1952). By R. L. P. Milburn. New York. Harper and Bros. 1954. Pp. ix, 221. \$3.00.

Christianity, like Judaism, but unlike other religions of mankind, is rooted and grounded in history. To inquire, therefore, into the conceptions of history held by early Christian apologists, historians, and theologians is a task in line with the purpose of Canon Bampton in establishing his famous Lectures. And the Rev. R. L. P. Milburn, fellow and chaplain of Worcester College, Oxford, and University lecturer in Church history, has admirably fulfilled this task in the Bampton of 1952.

The Jewish historians, being pledged to declare the mighty works of God, wrote with a more consistent aim than their classical counterparts. Biblical writers consistently speak in terms less of sequence than of purpose. The early Christian writers acted upon like principles; yet the most responsible and influential among them had sufficient feeling for scholarship and integrity to preserve the delicate balance that has to be maintained between interpretation and chronicle.

The Apologists (Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Justin Martyr in particular) conceived of history as having practical utility and educative value, but like the New Testament writers, they also looked upon history as the fulfilment of prophecy. The opposition of heretics led to emphasis on apostolic succession as a safeguard of historical tradition and doctrine by Irenaeus, Tertullian, and other late 2nd century and early 3rd century writers. Julius Africanus, early in the 3rd century, put together the first detailed Christian chronology.

Origen learnt and taught, that history, like nature, is a sacrament, "where outward and visible signs serve to mediate a full richness of inward and spiritual truth to receptive minds." His strength was his realization that, for the apprehension of full truth, reason is not enough. His weakness lay in a defective sense of the dignity of historical research, except as it prepared for and commented on the unique truth of the Gospel. In the hands of Isidore of Seville and the Mediaeval Schoolmen, Origen's allegorizing was pushed to the point of caricature.

Eusebius was the first Church historian to resort to straightforward chronicle, winning from Croce a place beside Herodotus as the "father of modern history writing." In constructing his *Chronicle*, Eusebius was obeying a sure instinct. "Chronology is the backbone of history," and "this *Chronicle* was, for a thousand years and more, the chief source-book used throughout the Christian world by those who concerned themselves with the accurate presentation of past events." The virtues and limitations, stylistic and otherwise, of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* are discussed by our author in judicious detail.

Augustine, Orosius, and Salvian are surveyed as exponents of the confidence that history "leads somewhere," and as illustrative of the universal, guiding principles of Divine judgment. Being convinced of purposeful advance in the historic process, Augustine had little hesitation about dividing history into six epochs, paralleling the six days of Creation. Such schemes, supplying the popular need of clear teaching, were dear to the early Church and had a strong appeal in the Middle Ages. Though over-simplified and artificial, they have not been rejected by the sophistication of later times.

In a most interesting chapter on "The Treatment of History in Early Christian Art," Mr. Milburn comments on the reluctance of early Christian writers and artists to describe or portray their Master with exactness. The artist, like the historian, chose to present his record in a symbolic or partially symbolic form, testifying to an instinctive feeling that the Divine eludes the normal modes of presentation.

Quoting Carlyle to the effect that "history is the essence of innumerable biographies," Mr. Milburn accounts for the rise of the copious literature connected with the deeds of saints and martyrs. The development of the doctrine of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary is examined in detail, with the conclusion:

"While no teaching can be despised which chimes in with affectionate brooding over the mystery of the Incarnation, to elevate the doctrine of the Assumption to equality with the fundamental truths of the Christian creeds is to abandon the ancient claim of the Church to declare, as its Gospel, the mighty works of God manifested in history."

In a weighty chapter on "Fact and Symbol," our author points out that history cannot be dehumanized, as modern historians have discovered. The historians of the future may yet have to struggle with the answers to three questions: (1) Does selection of facts for record, with much purposely untold, lead to clear understanding? (2) How far

is historical truth relative to the capacities of those who report and receive it? (3) Is exaggeration sometimes allowable in order to balance what is left out? Milburn reveals his own approach in the following:

"It is fatally easy to import too much symbolism into historical, as into artistic, interpretation, with the result that the outlines of the subject become blurred and indistinguishable; but without that sympathetic intuition, which often amounts to what earlier generations knew as 'faith,' much of the rich purport of things will inevitably be missed."

He quotes approvingly G. G. Coulton's words, "We need new eyes in history even more than new documents."

From this very inadequate survey, we hope our readers can catch something of the urbanity and wisdom of these lectures. They are a valuable contribution to the modern study of the philosophy of history.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



The Story of the Church. By Walter Russell Bowie. New York and Nashville (Abingdon Press) 1955. Pp. 208. \$2.95.

To have told the history of the Church from the beginnings to our days in two hundred pages, in simple language and understandable to every laymen and every adolescent, to have made the right selections from the material and presented them in a form which holds the attention of the reader all through the book, is no mean achievement. With this book Professor Bowie has given new proof of his mastership in popular writing. The danger of oversimplification is generally avoided. The illustrations are perhaps a little naive; but they might serve the purpose of the book.

RICHARD G. SALOMON.

*Bexley Hall,
The Divinity School of
Kenyon College,
Gambier, Ohio.*



The Armenian Community. The Historical Development of a Social and Ideological Conflict. By Sarkis Atamian. New York, Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. 479.

This is an interesting book. The Armenian question was one of the most serious problems in the Near East throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth.* It was settled brutally by massacres and the expulsion of the Armenians by the Ottoman Turks. But the Armenian people, as remarkable a people as there ever was, was not destroyed. Dispersed throughout the world or incorporated in the Soviet Union, the Armenians remained, united by their historical tradition, their aspirations and sufferings, but divided also as a result of the aspirations and sufferings. This book describes the tribulations of the Armenians, and analyzes the factors that have kept them together as a community, as well as those that keep them divided. It is a sociological study in the best sense of that expression.

The book may be conveniently divided into four parts. The first part has as its subject the status of the Armenians under Ottoman rule. It includes an account of the *millet* system by which the Ottomans sought to govern the different national groups, an analysis of the constitution which the Armenians adopted for themselves shortly after 1856, a description of the social cleavage which separated the Armenians of the cities from those of the provinces, and a review of the sufferings of the Armenian peasants at the hands of the Kurds, who were doubtless encouraged by official elements of the Ottoman government. The second part deals with the development of a national consciousness, the rise of parties, the attempt to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Turks and its failure. The revolutionary movement, the rise of the Armenian Republic and its subsequent absorption by the Soviets, and the virtual liquidations of the Armenians in Turkey, constitute the subject matter of the third part. The fourth part has as its subject the rivalry among the various parties, especially the Dashnaks and Ramgavars and the disunity which this rivalry has introduced in the Armenian communities throughout the world, including those in America, and in the Armenian Church.

It is a scholarly book. The author seems to have been guided entirely by his sources. There are indications that his sympathies are with the Dashnaks, but his objectivity on the whole cannot be questioned. In reading this book one may learn not only about the Armenians; he may also derive general sociological principles.

PETER CHARANIS.

*Rutgers, The State University
of New Jersey,
New Brunswick.*

*See above, "Bishop Satterlee's Mission to Russia in 1896," by C. Rankin Barnes.



III. Theology and Philosophy

The Four Great Heresies. By J. W. C. Wand (Bishop of London). London. A. R. Mowbray & Co., Limited. 1955. Pp. 139. \$3.75.

Those of our readers who heard (or have since read) Bishop Wand's paper on "The Position of the Anglican Communion in History and Doctrine," which was in effect the key address at the Anglican Congress in 1954, will agree that the bishop is one of the most effective teachers in contemporary Anglicanism. And a reading of this little volume under review will confirm this judgment.

In his introductory chapter on "The Early Struggles," the bishop traces the origin of the two theological and Christological trends in the post-apostolic Church—the Jewish or Syrian tradition, with its emphasis on the personal unity of the Living God and its consequent affinity for adoptionist Christology, and the Alexandrian and Greek tradition, with its ontological approach and its preference for a pneumatic Christology. The tendency of Latin Christianity to express its doctrine of God and of Christ in legal terms enabled Rome to preserve the balance between these two traditions.

In the succeeding chapters, Bishop Wand takes up in turn Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, and Eutychianism, and traces the swing of the pendulum between the two tendencies and traditions. Without going into detail, we may say that he enters sympathetically into the problems which each of the heresiarchs sought to solve, and displays helpful insights into the orthodox terminology which was hammered out in the ensuing controversies and formulated in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed and the Definition of Chalcedon. His style is crystal clear and not too difficult for the non-technical reader.

In a brief epilogue, Bishop Wand asks frankly to what extent the theology and Christology of Nicea and Chalcedon are adequate in the twentieth century. The Cartesian and post-Cartesian emphasis on consciousness, the development of the concept of the unconscious and sub-conscious (which Dr. Sanday tried to use fifty years ago in formulating a modern Christology), modern study of the filial consciousness of our Lord, and modern theories of the *kenosis* or self-emptying of Christ in the Incarnation are each surveyed and appraised in quick review. To quote our author:

"The personal idealists used to tell us that the human personality is 'impenetrable with the impenetrability of matter,' but modern psychology seems to have disposed of such a notion just as the physicists have disposed of the impenetrability of matter. Personality grows and develops by continually acting and reacting upon its environment. 'We become what we are interested in.' If it is possible for the redeemed human being to be 'in Christ,' or 'to put on Christ,' or to be 'grafted into Christ,' we should be helped to see how the perfect manhood of Jesus

can be permanently united with the eternal Word of the Father."

Summing up in a final paragraph, the bishop presents the practical bearing of a sound doctrine of the Incarnation, and concludes that the early Church did its utmost to preserve the precious link between that doctrine and our redemption.

American readers will marvel how the bishop of our greatest diocese could find time, amid his onerous administrative and pastoral duties, to write such scholarly and helpful books as this one and his recent *Life of Jesus Christ*. With his retirement this year at the age of seventy, we hope and pray that he will long be spared to make further useful contributions to the thought and life of the Church, especially in the fields of Church history and doctrine, where he excels.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



The Virgin Mary. By Giovanni Miegge. Translated by Waldo Smith. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1956. 196 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Miegge is the occupant of the chair of Church history in the Waldensian Faculty of Theology in Rome; his translator holds a similar chair at Queens Theological College in Ontario, Canada. The book which Dr. Miegge has written and Dr. Smith translated is a careful study of the development of Mariological doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church, although in his preface the translator refers to certain Anglican writers who (as he thinks) take a position on the subject not dissimilar from that of Roman Christians. President Mackay of the Princeton (Presbyterian) Theological Seminary contributes a laudatory preface to the book.

It is very useful to have this volume at a time when the Roman Church appears to be exalting the Mother of our Lord to a position more and more closely approximating divine status. Professor Miegge indicates the four basic principles of Roman Mariological development: first, the singularity of St. Mary in relation to all other members of the human race; second, the "perfections" which are attributed to her as the fulfilment of all human possibility; third, the special privileges which are hers as the Mother of Christ; and fourth, the analogy which is made between her person and position and those of her Son.

With this as a beginning, the author traces the way in which by a gradual process, through the influence of non-Christian cults and the legendary stories told about her, St. Mary began to assume a position described as "Queen of heaven," "compassionate Mother," intercessor for men, and the like—all related to a misunderstanding of the concept

of *Theotokos* (Nestorius seems, ultimately, to have been in the right as to the dangers of this term!). With the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, announced in 1854, and that of the bodily Assumption, proclaimed in 1950, the teaching about Mary would appear to have reached its height; but there are still the doctrinal statements of her position as Mediatrix and Co-redemptress, now strongly advocated by many Roman thinkers and likely to be the next steps in the developing of Mariological dogma.

Professor Miegge's historical treatment is thorough and, so far as this reviewer can see, on the whole accurate and sound, save in the failure to take account of the exoneration of Nestorius personally from heretical views or intention, which has been made possible since the discovery of *The Bazaar of Heracleides* and recent historical theological examination of his position. And surely, on page 57 (third line from bottom of page), Cyril rather than Nestorius is intended by the author as "exposed to the charge of monophysitism." One suspects the translator's admittedly "amateur" knowledge of Italian to be at fault here, as it is plainly at fault two pages earlier when *in modo particolarissimo* (which in Italian means "in a most special fashion") is translated "in a narrowly particular way"! !

His theological discussion objects to the Mariological teaching on the ground that it is essentially Pelagian in tendency, denies the doctrine of justification by faith, and contradicts the Biblical witness to Mary as a "lowly maid," chosen by God to be the Mother of his Incarnate Son, rather than a "glorified creature" who is removed from her human brethren.

So far as this reviewer is concerned, the study has its principal value in showing that the Anglicans, who said that Mary can never be worshipped, but that she should be honoured as holding the unique position of the Mother of our Lord and Saviour, were in the right. Roman Catholic theology and devotion have lost all sense of proportion and are in danger of creating a new mystery religion to replace historic Christianity; Protestantism has failed to give the Blessed Mother either attention or honour; Anglican thought, especially as classically expressed in the Caroline divines, has taken towards her an attitude of tender devotion and moderate veneration, without confusing her with deity or making her the mediator between her Son and those whom he came to redeem.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*



The Priesthood, A Translation of the Peri Hierosynes of St. John Chrysostom. By W. A. Jurgens. New York: Macmillan, 1955. Pp. xxvi, 133. \$2.50.

St. Maximus the Confessor, The Ascetic Life, The Four Centuries on Charity. Translated and Annotated by Polycarp Sherwood, O. S. B. (*Ancient Christian Writers*, No. 21) Westminster: Newman, 1955. Pp. 284. \$3.25.

Rufinus, A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, Translated and Annotated by J. N. D. Kelly. (*Ancient Christian Writers*, No. 20). Westminster: Newman, 1955. Pp. 160. \$2.75.

Here are three admirable additions to the works of the Fathers available in English. Chrysostom's treatise *On the Priesthood* is well-known, but not currently in print; Fr. Jurgens, a young priest beginning his scholarly career, has produced a sound and attractive version. The two latest additions to the ACW series are of special value: Maximus Confessor, a seventh-century mystic and theologian of real significance, much neglected until recently, makes his first appearance in English. Rufinus *On the Apostles' Creed* is an important work, already Englished in the *Post-Nicene Fathers*, but deserving of the fine new translation and editing of the principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford. It is interesting to note ecumenical aspects of scholarship—Dom Polycarp is an American monk teaching at Rome; Dr. Kelly, an Anglican divine, whose outstanding position in his particular specialty has won him a place in a series issued under Roman Catholic auspices.

E. R. HARDY.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*



How To Read the Bible. By Frederick C. Grant. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1956. \$2.50.

One of the encouraging aspects of our modern religious scene is the return to the Bible. Not only are theologians becoming "biblical," but laymen in increasing numbers are reading the Bible, and are forming groups for regular and continuing study. I am told of one church in a metropolitan area which has organized Bible study groups in every postal zone of that far-flung industrial city. In the light of this growing interest in the Bible, the question which Philip asked of the Ethiopian eunuch is becoming increasingly apposite, "Do you understand what you are reading?"

It is to enable men to give the affirmative answer to that question that Dr. Grant has written the Bishop of New York Book for 1956. In it he sounds the warning note against a superstitious, subjective and self-centered reading of Holy Scripture. His first two chapters should be required reading for all Bible study groups, and, may I add, seminarians? In the first, Dr. Grant indicates that the Bible is the

Church's book, the product of its religious experience and its worship. In the second, he points out that true devotional reading of the Scriptures is not opposed to critical study, but rather must include linguistic, grammatical, historical and literary research. His authorities are varied and impressive, Melancthon, Canon Streeter and Bengel.

The following chapters take up in order the various sections of the Bible, including the Apocrypha. The treatment is of necessity brief, but it exemplifies the kind of scholarship which Dr. Grant has described as necessary for biblical study and which he displays in all his writings.

There is also one chapter devoted to the theme, "How to Read an Apocalypse." The concluding summary is illustrative of the author's general thesis, "You must read it as if you were one of those to whom it was originally addressed—. Then over the heads of that ancient generation, you will begin to catch its message for all time." This two fold procedure, if followed in all biblical study, would deliver us from that type of eisegesis, or reading into the text, which short circuits the message of the ancient writer and gives it a spurious modern meaning. The Bible does not contain a detailed prediction of life today. Its writers were concerned to meet the crises of their own age. But what they did and said has relevance for today. Dr. Grant points this out in his chapter on "The Essential Message of the Bible." Reference should be made also to the discussion on the Pentateuch and the primitive concepts of sin and salvation as set forth in those early books.

Dr. Grant discusses the differences of opinion held by biblical scholars. Accordingly, I would mention that the theory of Pentateuchal criticism to which he refers, pp. 46ff, does not represent the generally accepted viewpoint in so far as we can speak of a scholarly consensus. Also, it is questionable whether the Song of Solomon celebrates a *royal* courtship and marriage. Some exegetes might not be as wholehearted as Dr. Grant in praise of the Book of Judith. But these are minor points which do not impair the general effectiveness of the book.

Dr. Grant has not written a pat little handbook on "How to Read the Bible," but he has given us something far more valuable, namely, an attitude and a method and also a bibliography by which we are to approach our Bible.

CORWIN C. ROACH.

*Bexley Hall,
Kenyon College,
Gambier, Ohio.*



A Few Months to Live, by Helen W. Ray.

Alcoholism: and how to deal with it, by Sheldon D. Bacon, Ernest A. Shepherd, and "your Rector."

Health Begins in the Soul, by R. K. Harrison.

Letter to a Homosexual, by Kenneth N. Ross.

Prayers of Henry Sylvester Nash, edited by John W. Suter.

Seeing Those Who Are Invisible, by Theodore P. Ferris.

Self-Examination, by Joseph N. Wittkofski.

Thoughts on the Collects, by Elima A. Foster.

What a Christian Believes, by E. Frank Salmon.

All of the above are recent "Forward Movement Publications." Like many others from the same editors, they are simply and clearly written, designed to help people face and handle their problems with the assistance of Divine Grace. The parish which does not keep a supply of Forward Movement publications available to the people is missing a great opportunity.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church,
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*



Red Letter Days: A Series of Meditations on the Holy Days of the Christian Year. By Harry N. Hancock. Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, Toronto, 1956. \$2.25.

Except for three Sundays (Easter, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday) these meditations are all associated with those days in the Church Year which are likely to be neglected in the American Church because we rarely find our altars thronged on week-days. All the more reason, then, for welcoming a little book like this which provides a helpful guidance for our personal devotions on days which ought to be recognized. The author does not make improper use of fanciful legends about the saints, but he does point out the meaning and beauty of the persons and occasions which have been given a place in the Church calendar. It is a book worth using.

DuBOSE MURPHY.



Christianity: A Critique of Religious Doctrine. By Floyd Lawrence Warne. Vantage Press, New York, 1955. \$2.50.

A few quotations will serve to indicate the general theme of this book: "That Jesus actually rose from the dead finds few believers today among the higher critics" (p. 38). "From these conclusions there has arisen a Christ-youth school, composed of scholars like Schweitzer, Case, Loisy, Robertson, Smith, and others, that maintains that

the Christ as such never lived" (p. 39). "Paul seems to know little of the eating of the body and blood of the Lord" (p. 37). "For Protestants, then, there can be no free will for man. It is all predetermined" (p. 72). "Christianity has always been opposed to science" (p. 93). "Religion and the churches have a vested interest in ignorance; they are definitely obscurantist" (p. 105). And, finally, "All members of the clergy, before being licensed, should be required to take courses in the history of religion, religious psychology, the Higher Criticism, and the philosophy of science." Well, if Mr. Warne would take a fifteen-cent subway ride from his home in Brooklyn to Chelsea Square in Manhattan, he could have an interesting time seeing at first-hand what some future clergymen are studying and how they are facing the "moral obligation to be intelligent." He might even take another trip to Morningside Heights and visit the Union Theological Seminary, which has been accused of many things, but never of "intellectual slavery."

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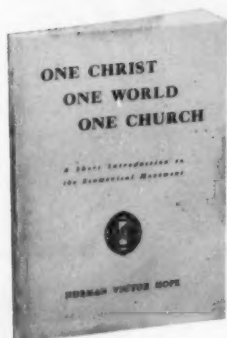
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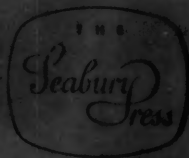
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